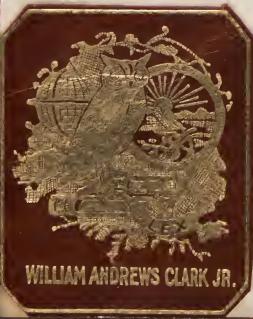


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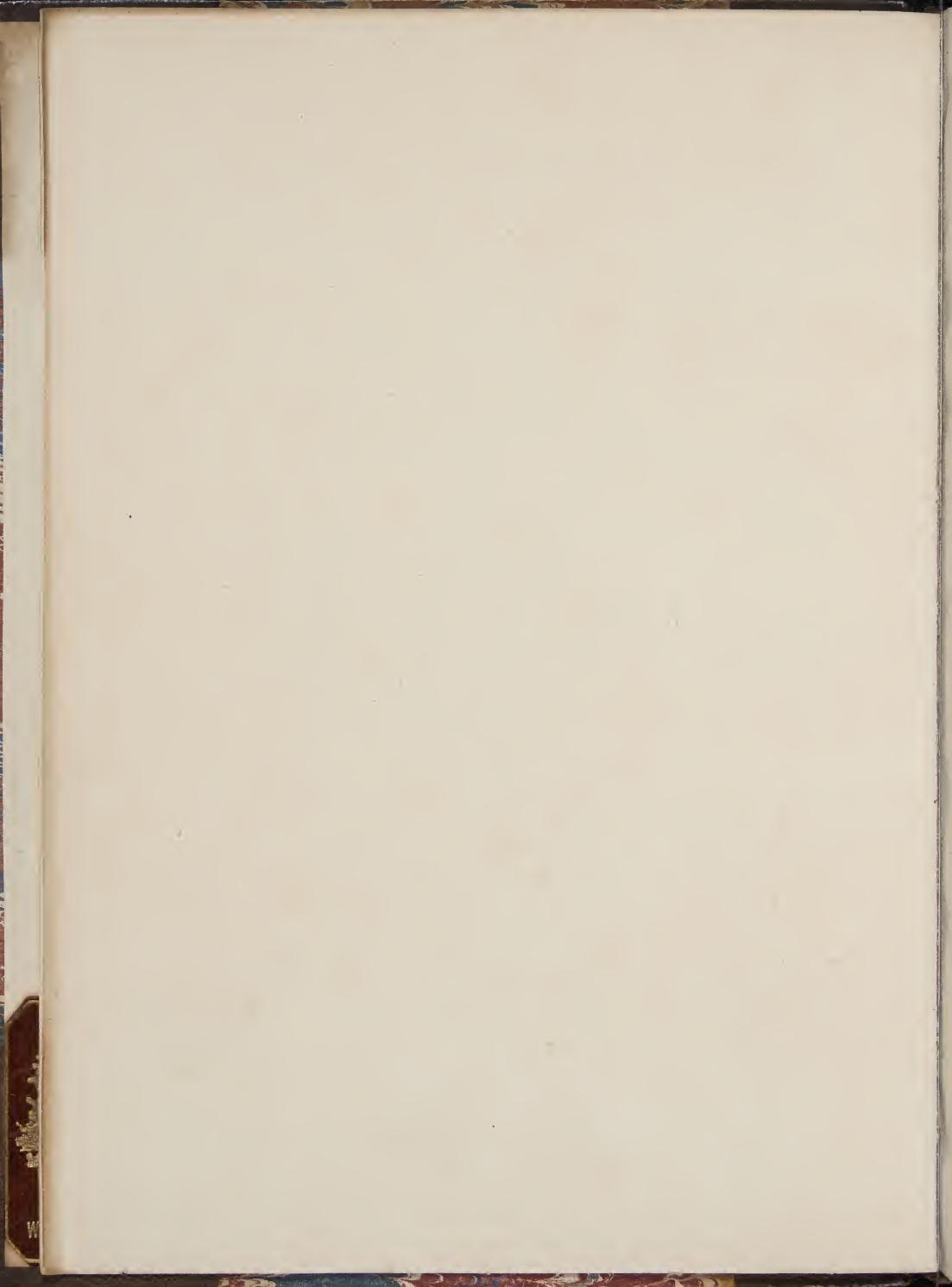


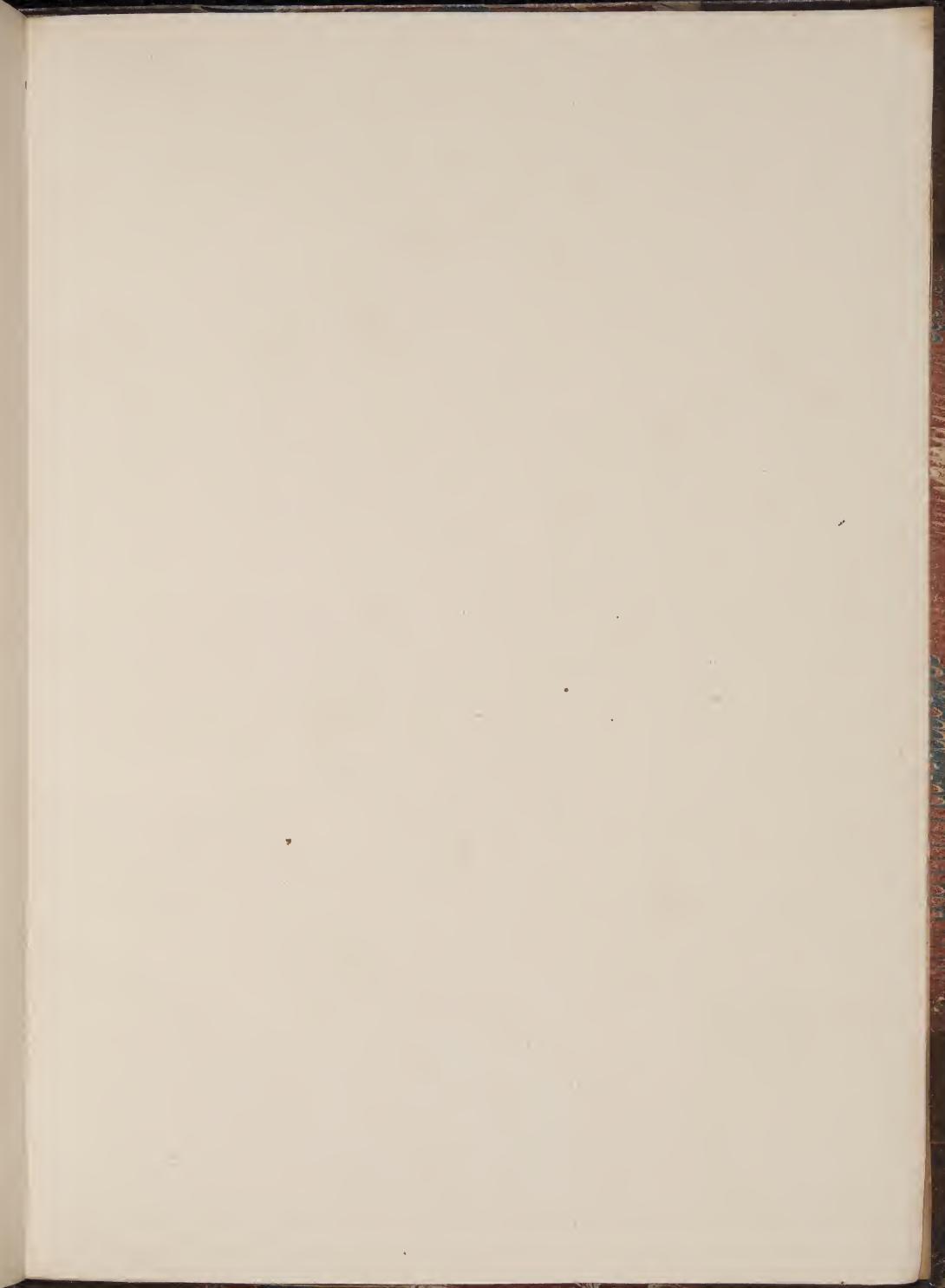
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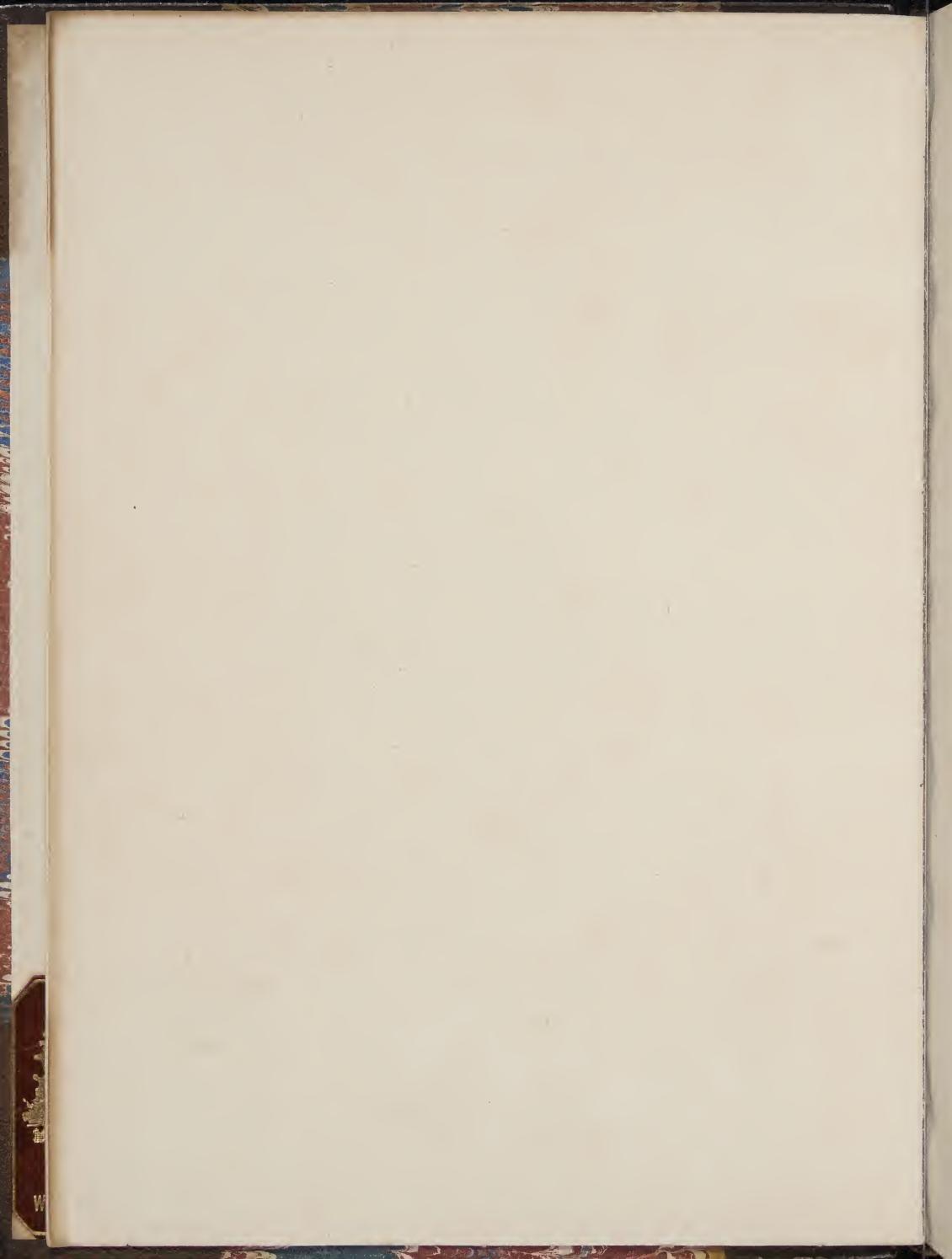


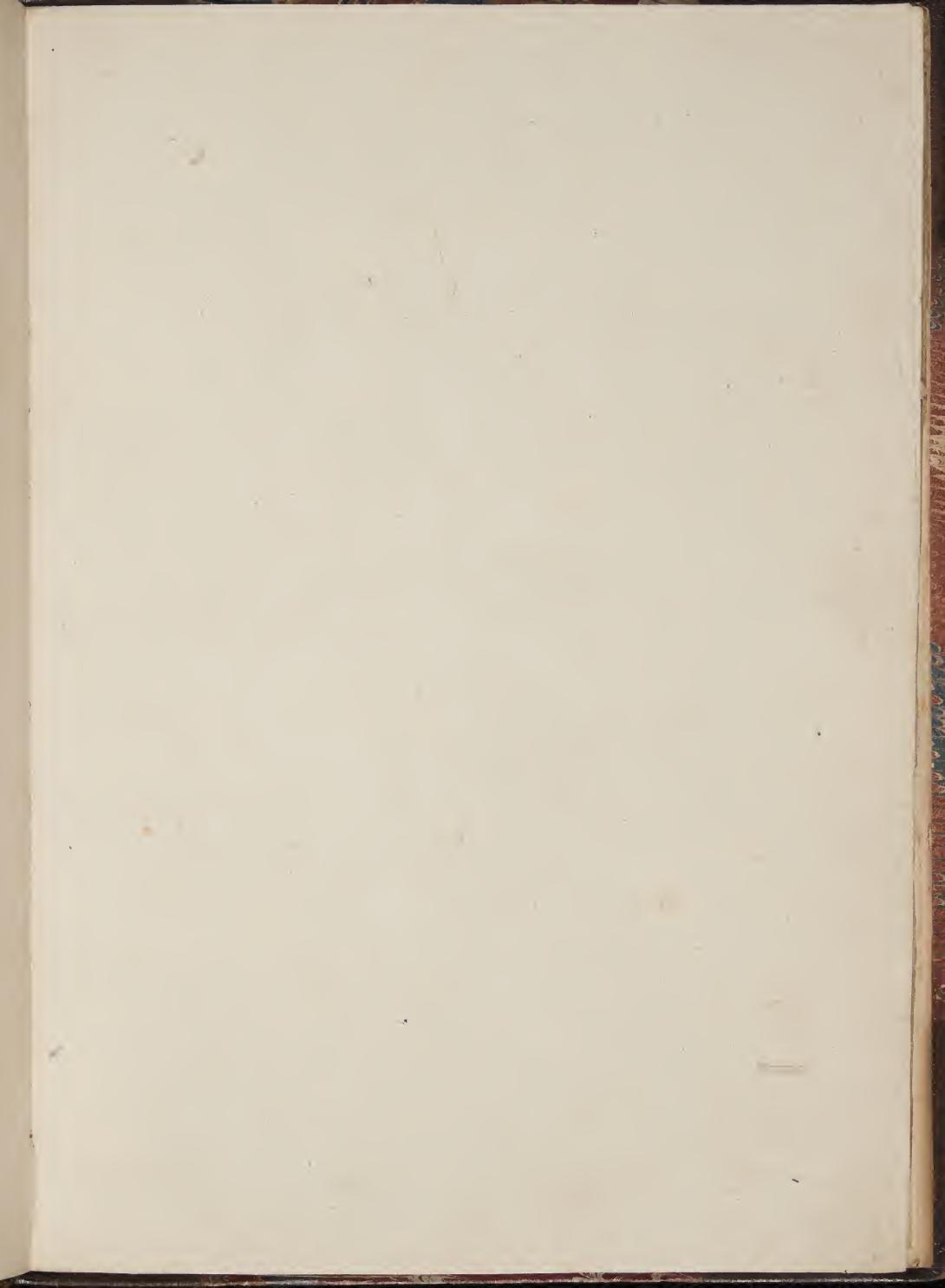
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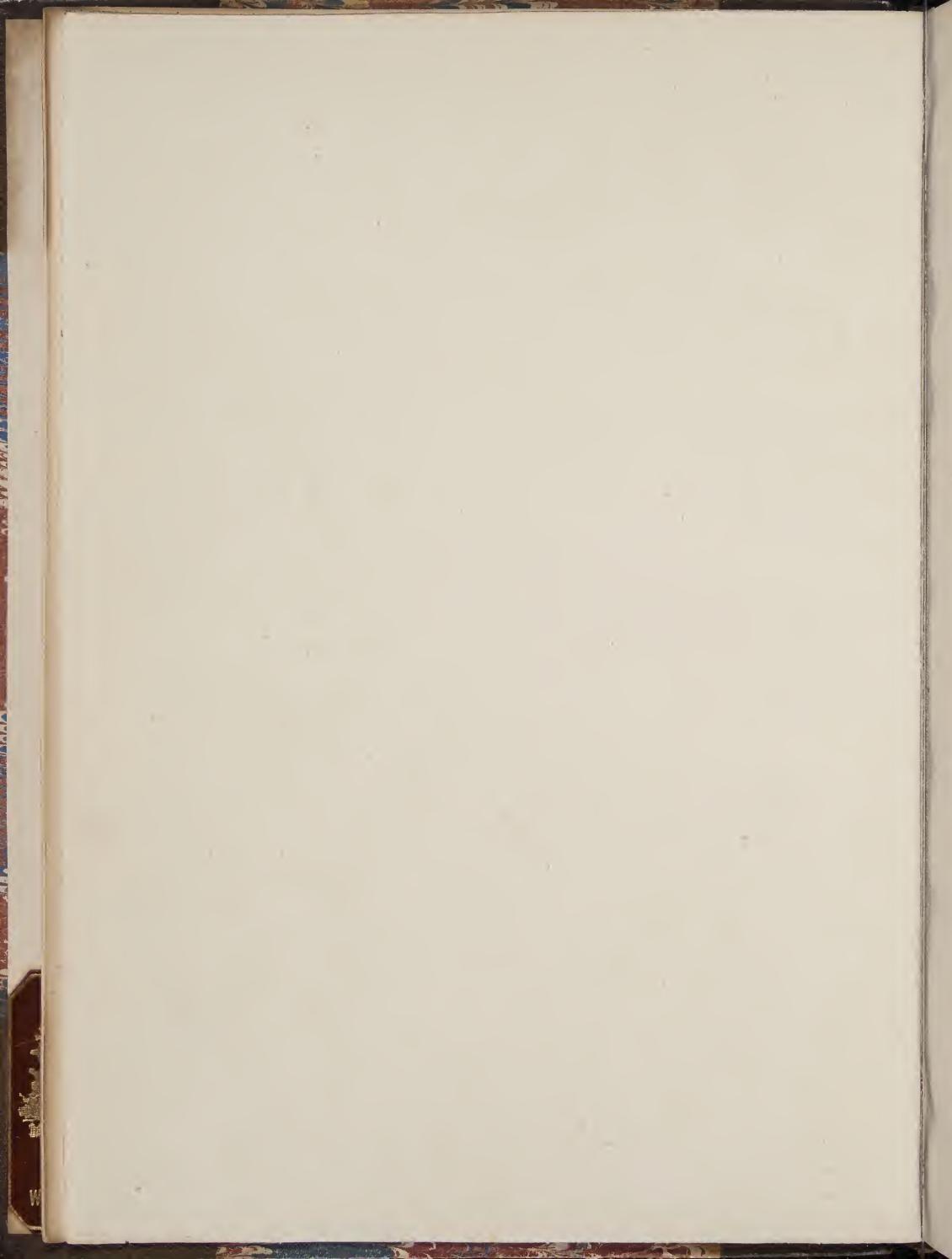


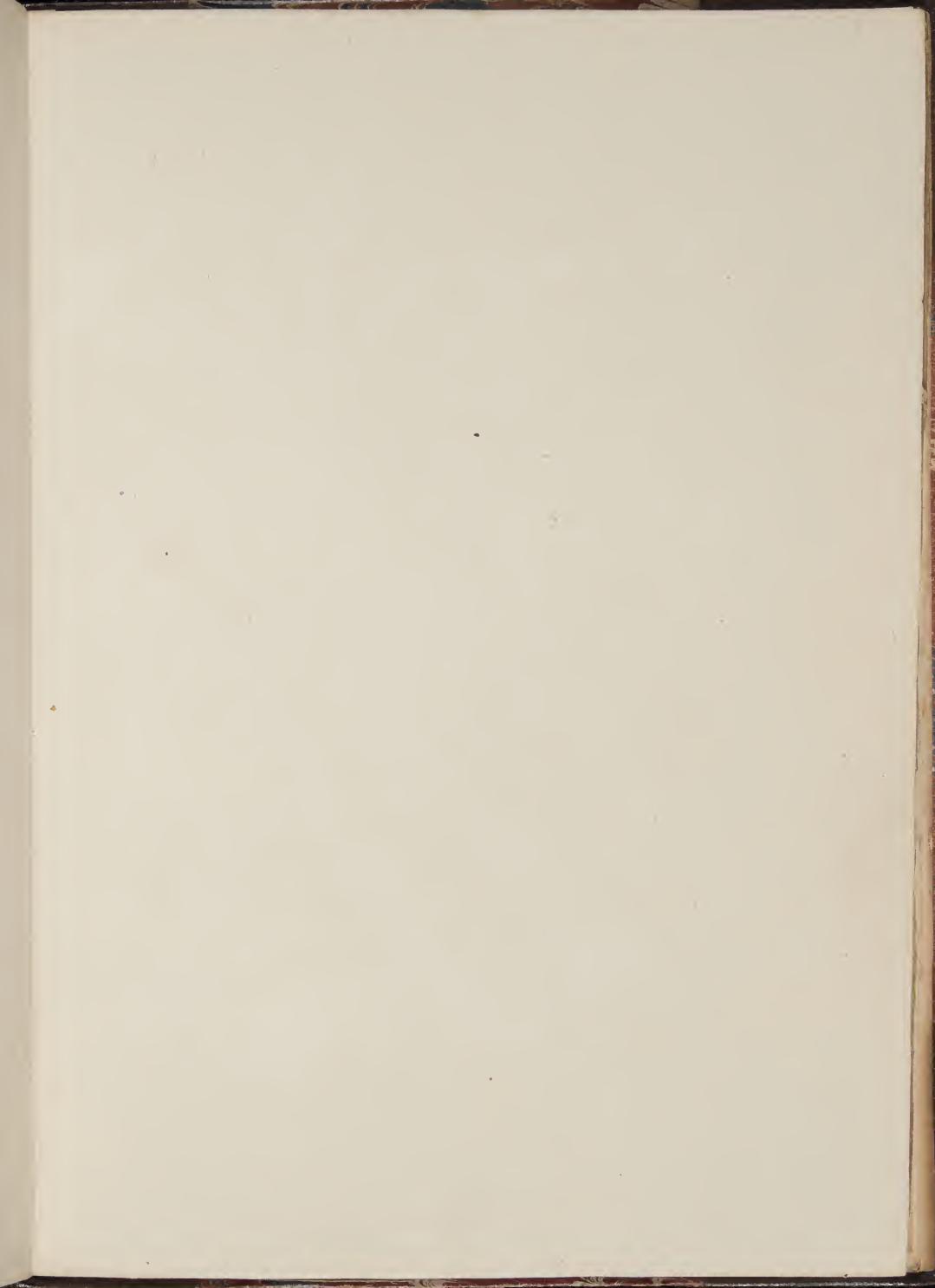




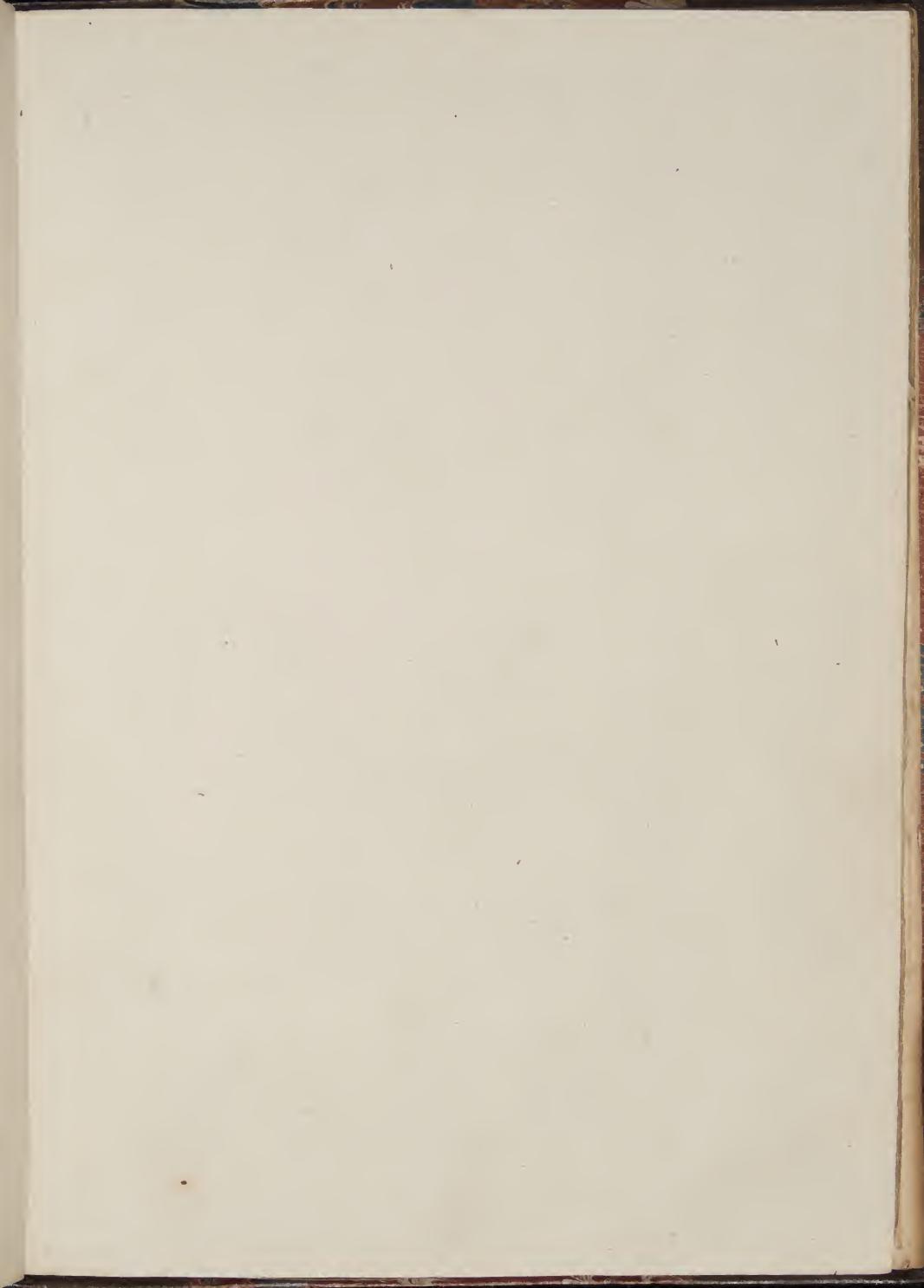












2522-1753

Poyer & Schau

Reporte of  
**A REPORT**  
and Discourse written by  
Roger Ascham, of the affaires  
and state of Germany and the  
Emperour Charles his court,  
duryng certaine yeares  
while the sayd Roger  
was there.

William Esterton  
William Webster  
This booke permyss  
This booke opteyneth  
to W. Esterton  
Lyon  
AT LONDON.

Printed by Iohn Daye,  
dwelling ouer Aldersgate.

—  
Cum Gratia & Priuilegio Regie  
Maestatis, per Decennium.



John Astely to R. Ascham.



Now finde true by ex-  
perience, which I haue  
oft heard of others; &  
sometymes read my  
selfe: that me make no  
such accompt of com-  
modities when they  
haue the, as when they  
want the. I meane this  
by our frendly fellow-  
shyp together at Che-  
ston Chelfsey, and here at

Hatfield her graces house: our pleasant studies in rea-  
dyng together *Aristotles Rethorike*, *Cicerō*, and *Li-  
tie*: our free talke mingled alwayes with honest  
mirth: our trimme cōferences of that present world:  
and to true iudgementes of the troublesome tyme  
that followed.

These commodities I now remēber with some  
grief, which we then vsed with much pleasure, be-  
sides many other fruites of frendshyp that faythfull  
good will could affourd. And these thinckynges  
cause me oft to wish, either you to be here with vs,  
or me to be there with you: but what wishyng is  
nothyng els but a vayne waylyng for that which  
will wanteth. I wil cease from wishyng, and seeke the  
true remedy for this sore. And that is, whilſt we  
mete agayne in deede, in the meane while to ease  
our desires with oft writyng the one to the other: I  
would in deede I had bene partaker in your com-  
pany, of that your pleasant absence out of your

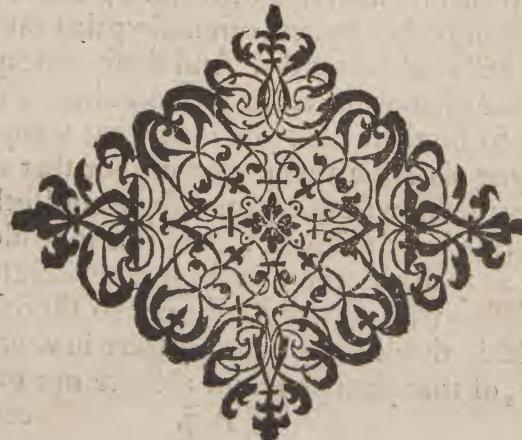
*Wishing  
nothing els but  
vaine waylyng for  
that which will  
wanteth*

## A Letter.

countrey: And because I was not, I pray you let me be partaker by your letters of some fruite of that your iourney.

We heare of great sturres in those parties : and how the Emperour a Prince of great wisedome and great power hath bene driuen to extreme shifte, and that by the pollicie of mean men who were thought to be hys frendes , and not by the puissantnes of others who were knowne to be his open enemyes. I know you were wont in markyng diligently and notyng truely all such great affaires : And you know lykewise how desirous I am alwayes to read any thing that you write. Write therfore I pray you,

that we your frendes beyng at home may enioye by your letters a pleasant memory of you in this tyme whilst you be absent abroad. Farewell in Christ from Hatfield.xix . Octobris .1552.



R. Ascham, to Iohn Astley.



Autem plurimam in Christo Iesu. That part of your letters from Hatfield, decimo nono Octob. renewing a most pleasant memory of our frendly fellowship together, & full of your wonted good will towardes me: I au-

Spires by Fraunces the post: whiche letter if it be not yet come to your hand, ye might haue heard tell of it in M. Secretary Cicels chamber in the Court.

As concernyng the other part of your letter, for your wish to haue bene with me, in this mine absence from my countrey: and for your request, to be made partaker by my letters of the sturre of these times here in Germany. Surely I would you had your wish: for then should not I now nede to bungle vp yours so great a request, when presently you shold haue sene with much pleasure, which now peraduēture you shall read with some doubt, lesse thynges may encrease by writing which were so great in doyng, as I am more afayrd to leaue behind me much of the matter, then to gather vp more then hath sprong of the trouth.

Your request conteineth few wordes but comprehendeth both great and diuers matters. As first the causes of the open invasion by the Turke: of the secret working for such soddeyne breschesse

# A discours and affaires

in Italy, and Germany: of the fine fetches in the French practises: of the double dealyng of Rome with all partes: the more particularly why Duke Octauio, the Prince of Salerne, Marches Albert, and Duke Maurice brake so out with the Emperour, which were all so fast knit vnto hym as the bondes of affinitie, loyaltie, bloud, and benefites could assure hym of them: Octauio being his sonne in law, the Prince one of hys priuy chamber, Marches Albert hys kynsman, and Duke Maurice so inhaunsed with honoz and enriched with benefites by hym, as the Duke could not haue wished greater in hope, then the Emperour performed in Deede. Here is stufte plenty to furnish well vp a trimme history if a workeman had it in handlyng. When you and I read Luvie together if you do remember, after some reasonyng we concluced both what was in our opinion to be looked for at his hand that would well and aduisedly write an history: first, point was, to write no thyng false: next, to be bold to say any truth, wher by is auoyded two great faultes, flattery and hatred: for which two pointes Cæsar is read to his great prayse, and Iouius the Italian to hys iust reproch. Then to marke diligently the causes, counsels, actes, and issues in all great attemptes: And in causes, what is iust or vnjust: in counsels, what is purposed wisely or rashly: in actes, what is done couragiously or fayntly: And of euery issue, to note some generall lesson of wisedome & wariness, for lyke matters in time to come: wherin Polibius in Greeke and Phillip Comines in French haue

what thinges  
written of in his  
gold ryghtly respect  
T. Cæsar.  
P. Iouius.

Polibius.  
Phi. Comines.

haue done the duties of wyse and worthy wri-  
ters. Diligence also must be vied in kepyng truly  
the order of tyme: and describyng lyuely, both the  
site of places and nature of persons not onely for  
the outward shape of the body: but also for the in-  
ward dispositiō of the mynde as Thucidides doth  
in many places very truly, and Homer every-  
where and that alwayes most excellently, which  
obseruation is chiefly to be marked in hym. And  
our Chaucer doth the same, very praise woxthely:  
marke hym well and conferre hym with any o-  
ther that writeth of in our tyme in their proudest  
toung whosoever lyest. The stile must be alwayes  
playne and open: yet sometime higher and lower  
as matters do ryse and fall: for if proper and na-  
turall wordes, in well ioyned sentences do lyuely  
expresse the matter, be it troublesome, quyet, an-  
gry or pleasant, A man shal thincke not to be rea-  
dyng but present in doyng of the same. And here-  
in liuie of all other in any toung, by myne opinio  
carieth away the prayse.

Thucidi-  
des.  
Homer.

Chaucer.

Titus Li-  
uius.

Syr Thomas More in that pamphlet of Ri-  
chard the thyrd, doth in most part I beleue of all  
these pointes so content all men, as if the rest of  
our stori of England were so done, we might  
well compare with Fraunce, Italy, or Germany or  
in that behalfe. But see how the pleasant remem-  
braunce of our old talke together hath caried me  
farther then I thought to go. And as for your re-  
quest to know the cause and maner of these late  
sturres here ye shall not looke for such precise or-  
der now in wryting, as we talked on then. No it  
is

Tho. Mo-  
rus.

any of ge.

## A discours and affaires

is not all one thing to know perfectly by reading  
and to performe perfectly in doyng I am not so  
vnaudis to take so much vpō me, nor you so vn-  
friendly to looke for so much from me. But that  
you may know that I haue not bene altogether  
idle in this my absence, and that I will not come  
home as one that can say nothing of that he hath  
sene and heard abroad: I will homely and rude-  
ly (yet not altogether disorderly, part priuately  
vnto you such notes of affaires as I priuately  
marked for my selfe: which I either felt and saw,  
or learned in such place and of such persōs as had  
willes to seeke for, and wayes to come by, and  
wittes to way the greatest matters that were to  
be marked in all these affaires. For no wieke al-  
most hath past in the which there hath not com-  
monly come to my hand for the most part of the  
notable thynges that haue bene attempted in  
Turky, Hungary, Italy, Fraunce, and Germany.  
In declaryng to you these thynges I will obserue  
onely the first two pointes of our wont commu-  
nication: that is to my wityng I will set for-  
ward nothyng that is false, nor yet keepe backe  
any thyng that is true. For I playing no part of  
no one side, but sittynge downe as indifferent loo-  
ker on, neither Imperial nor French, but for En-  
glish do purpose with troth to report the matter.  
And seyng I shall lyue vnder such a Prince, as  
kyng Edward is, and in such a countrey as Eng-  
land is (I thanke God) I shall haue neither neede  
to flatter the one side for profite, nor cause to feare  
the other side for displeasure. Therefore let my  
pur-

purpose of reportyng the troth as much content  
you, as the meane handlyng of the matter may  
mislike you. Yet speakyng thus much of trouth,  
I meane not such a hid trouth as was onely in  
the brest of Monsieur d'Arras on the Emperours  
side, or in Baron Hadeck on Duke Maurice side,  
with whom and with oneother of his counsell he  
onely conferred all his purposes three yeares be-  
fore he brake out with þ Emperour: but I meane  
such a trouth as by conference and common cosent  
amongest all the Ambassadors and Agentes in  
this Court and other witty & indifferent heades  
beside was generally conferred and agreed vpon.  
What better comoditie to know the trouth any  
writer in Greeke Latine or other tong hath had,  
I can not perceiue, except onely Xenophon, Cæ-  
sar, and Phillip Comines: which two first worthy  
writers wrote their owne actes so wisely, and so  
without all suspicion of parcialitie, as no man he-  
therto by mine opinion hath borne him selfe so up-  
rightly in writyng the histories of others: The  
thyrd hauyng in a maner þ like oportunitie hath  
not deserved lyke commendations, at least as I  
suppose. Englād hath matter & Englād hath me-  
furnished with all abilitie to write: who if they  
would might bryng both lyke praysle vnto them  
selues, & like profite to others, as these two noble  
men haue done. They lay for their excuse the lacke  
of leysure which is true in deede: But if we cos-  
ider the great affaires of Cæsar we may iudge hee  
was worthy to winne all praysle that was so wil-  
ling & wittie to winne such time when his head &

B. J.

his

Agentes

þe praysle of 2t noȝt  
and. cap. v.

Phillip Comines

## A discours and affaires

his handes night and day were euer most full,  
would to God that these our me as they are rea-  
dy to prayse hym were euen as willyng to follow  
hym , and so to wynne like prayse them selues.

And to keepe you no longer with my priuate  
talke from the matter it selfe, I will begyn at the  
spryng of the matter from whence all these mis-  
chiefes dyd flow , the which now hath so ouer-  
flowed the most part of Christendome , as God  
onely from heauen must make an end of this mi-  
serable tragedie, wherein these two great Prin-  
ces take such pleasure still to play . In Religion &  
libertie were sayd to be of many men the very  
causes of all these sturres : yet in myne opinion &  
as the matter it selfe shall well proue it , vnykyn-  
dnes was the very sede, whereof all these troubles  
dyd grow . A Knight of England of worthy me-  
morie for wit learnyng and experiance old Syr  
Thomas Wiat wrote to his sonne that the grea-  
test mischief amongst men and least punished is  
vnykynnes: the greatest mischief truly & least pu-  
nished also by any ordinary law & sentence, yet as  
I haue sene here by experiance, vnykynnes hath  
so wrought with men, as the meane were not af-  
fraid to attempt their reuege, nor the Emperour  
able to withstand their displease . Bea vnykyn-  
nes was onely the hoke, which Henry the French  
kyng hath vsed these late yeares to plucke from  
the Emperour and draw to hym selfe , so many  
Princes and great cōmodities as he hath : with  
this hoke bayted with money the bayte of all mis-  
chief the French kyng hath not ceased, to angle at

as

The cause  
of sturres  
in Italy &  
Germany.

Li. George Wylkynde  
voyn & synging.  
P. Donyndes.

money to barre  
of all mischief

as many harts in Italy and Germany as he knew  
 any matter of vnykynnes to bee ministred vnto,  
 by the Emperour. There be few Princes in all  
 the Empire but if I had leysure, I could particu-  
 larly proue, and when I come home in our pri-  
 uate talke I wil fully declare that some good big  
 matter of vnykynnes hath bene offred vnto them  
 by the Emperour. Nea Ferdinand his brother,  
 Maximilian his nephewe and sone in law, the  
 Dukes of Bauarie and Cleues which haue maried  
 his nieces haue bene shrewdly touched therwith.  
 Also y Papisticall Bishops as Mentz, Pamburge,  
 Heripolis, Saltzburge, and diuers others haue felt  
 their part hercyn. Few Princes or states, Pro-  
 testantes or Papistes, but haue bene troubled ther-  
 with. But euuen as a quaterne in the begynnyng  
 is a wanderyng disease in the body vnyknowynge  
 what it wil turne vnto, and yet at last it draweth  
 to certaine dayes & houres: euuen so these grieues  
 in the whole body of the Empire dyd first worke  
 secretly and not appeare openly, vntill this me-  
 lanchole vnykynnes did so swell in mens sto-  
 maches that at length in Insburgh it brast out in-  
 to a shrewd sicknes, whereof the first fit was felt  
 to be so dangerous, that if the Emperour and we  
 had not more spedely chaunged the ayre, I am af-  
 feyred and sure I am we were wel astrayd then,  
 the sickenes would haue proued also to vs that  
 were present with hym very contagions. Well  
 this grief growyng therto certaine fittes, and I  
 my selfe beyng not greatly greued at y hart with  
 it but had leysure enough with small ioperdy (I

*The emperour vntaynd  
 to anyt princi of  
 the emp[er]or*

## A discours and affaires

thanke God ) to looke quietly vpon them that were sick, because I would not be idle amongst them I began dayly to note the working of this sicknes, and namely from the xix. of May. 1552. when we ranne from Inſburgh till the first of next January whē the ſiege of Metz was abadoned. Neuertheles before I come to theſe ordinary dayes I will ſhortly touch how the Emperor beynge in peace with all the world. 1550. when we came to his Court, had loone after ſo many enemyes as hee knew not which way to turne hym.

### ¶ The Turke.

The brech  
with the  
Turke,

The date of peace betwixt the Emperor and the Turke had to expire an. 1551. The Emperor hearyng what preparation the Turke had made the yeare before for warre and ſpecially by ſea, which muſt needes be agaſt Christendome, thought it better for him to ende the peace with ſome aduaantage, the that the Turke ſhould begyn the warre with too much ſtrength & therfore in ſommer. 1550. he ſent Iohn de Vega Vice-roy of Cicile & Andrea Dorea into Barbaria, who wan the ſtrong towne of Africa from Dragut Raies ſometyme a pirate and now the Turkes chief doer in all the affaires of Africa and mare mediteraneo. This Court raifed by other rumors of this brech with the Turke how that this enterprize was made for Seripho ſake a heſthen kyng. But the Emperours frend in Barbaria to whom Dragut Raies had done great wrong, yet men that

that knew the troth, and are wont also to say it, haue told me that the towne of Africa stode so fit to annoy Spayne for the Turke when he list, that the Emperour was compelled to seeke by all meanes to obtaine it, much fearyng, lest when he was absent in Germany, the Turke would be too nigh and to homely a gest with hym in Spayne whensoeuer the peace should be expited. The whole stoy of winnyng Africa ye may read whē you list beyng wel written in Latin by a Spaniard that was present at it.

Africa was earnestly required agayne by the Turke, and fayre promised agayne by the Emperour, but beyng in deede not deliuered, the Turke for a reuenge the next yeaire, first assaulted Malta and after wan Tripoly from whence the Turke may easly and soddenly whensoeuer hee list set vpon Cicelie, Naples, or any cost of Italie or Spayne and most commodiously, what soeuer the Emperour doth hold in Barbary: so that the gayne of Africa is thought nothyng comparable with the losse of Tripoly.

Whē Tripoly was besieged by the Turkes, Monsieur Daramont was sent Ambassadour to Constantinople from the French Kyng: and arryng by the way at Malta, hee was desired by the great master of the order to go to Tripoly, and for the trendshyp that was betwene Fraunce and the Turke to treat for the Christians there. Daramont did so and had leaue of the Turkes generall to enter the towne and talke with the Captaine. And by this meanes they within yelded, on this con-

*Africa in. Barbaria*

*Tripoly in. barbaria*

## A discours and affaires

dition to part safe with bag and baggage which  
was graunted by the generall. But assoone as  
the Turkes entred the towne they put old & yong,  
man, woman, and child to the sword slauing two  
hundred of the strongest men to be their Galley  
slaves for euer. The generall beyng asked why he  
kept no promise made this awnswere: If the Em-  
perour had kept faith with my master for Affrica  
I would not haue broken with them of Tripoly,  
and therfore (sayth he) with Christen men which  
care for no trothe promises may iustly be broken.  
This Turkish crueltie was reuenged this last  
yeare in Hungary, when lyke promise of lyfe was  
made, and yet all put to the sword the Christians  
biddyng the Turkes remember Tripoly. To such  
beastly crueltie the noble feates of armes be come  
vnto betwixt the Christen men and the Turkes.  
And one fact of either side is notable to bee  
knowen, yet horrible to be told and souler to be  
followed: and it is pitie that mas nature is such,  
as will commonlie commend good thynges in  
readying and yet will as commonly follow ill  
thynges in doyng.

Anhorrible  
fact.

The Bassa of Buda, tocke in a skirmish a gentleman  
of the kyng of Romanes: for whose deliuerie  
men for entreaty and money for hys raunsome  
were sent to Buda. The Bassa appointed a day to  
geue them awnswere, and at time and place assig-  
ned, called for them and sent for the gentleman  
likewise. And suddenly came out two hangmen  
bare armed with great butchers kniues in they  
handes bringing with them certaine bandogges  
muled

musled kept hungry without meate of purpose: the Bassa bad them do their feate: who commyng to the gentleman stripped him naked, and bound him to a piller, after with their kniues they cut of his flesh by gobbers and flang it to the dogges. Thus þ poore gentleman suffred grief great for þ payne, but greater for the spight: noz so tormentēd in seyng his fleshe mangled with kniues, as in seyng him selke peice meale deuoured by dogges. And thus as long as hee felt any payne they cut him in collops, and after they let their dogges lose vpon him to eate by the residue of him, that þ grief which was ended in him being dead might yet continue in his frendes lookyng on. They were bad depart and tell what they saw, who ye may be sure were in care enough to cary home with them such a cruell message.

Not long after this, three Turkes of good estimation and place, were taken by the Christen men: for whose raunsome great summes of gold were offred. Aunswere was made to the messenger that all the gold in Turkey should not saue the. And because ye Turkes will eate no swines flesh, you shall see if swine will eate any Turkish fleshe. And so likewise great boxes were kept hungry, & in sight of the messenger the three Turkes were cut in collops and throwne amongst them.

For these soule Deedes I am not so angry with the Turkes that began them as I am sorry for the Christen men that follow them. I talked with a worthy gentleman this day both for his great experiance and excellent learnyng Marc Anthonio

## A discours and affaires.

The great  
Turke.

Mustapha  
the Turkes  
eldest sonne

Bisch of  
Italie.

Octavio.

d'Anula Ambassadour of Venice with the Emperour: who told me that the great Turke him selfe (Religion excepted) is a good and mercyfull, iust and liberall Prince, wile in makyng and true in performing any couenant, and as soze a reuenger of troth not kept. He prayed God to kepe him long aliuine: for his eldest sonne Mustapha is cleane contrary, genue to all mischief cruell, false, gettyng he careth not how vnjustly, and spendyng he careth not how unthriftely what soever he may lay hand on, wylle in makyng for his purpose, & ready to breake for his profite all couenantes, he is wary of quietnes and peace, a seeker of strife and warre, a great mocker of meane men, a sore oppressor of poore men, openly contemnyng God, and a bent enemy agaynst Christes name and Christen men. But to go forward with my purpose. The Turke beyng onest disclosed an open enemy to the Emperour, many meane men begā to be the bolder to put out their headees to seeke some open remedy for theyz priuate iniuries: Fraunce beyng at euery mans elbowe to harten and to helpe, whosoever had cause to be aggrieved with the Emperour. And first Octavio Duke of Parma, much agreued as nature well required with his fathers death & besides that fearing the losse not onely of his state, but also of his lyfe, fell from the Emperour in the end of the yeare. 1550.

Pietro Aloysio Farnesio sonne to Papa Paulo tercio Duke of Placētia: father to this Duke Octavio Duke of Parma which maried the Emperors base daughter, and to Horatio Duke of Castro; who

who of late hath maried also the French kynges base daughter , and the two Cardinals Alexan- dro and Ramusio Farnesly , was slaine men say by the meanes of Ferranto Gonzaga gouernour of Millan by whose death the state of Placentia belo- ging then to the house of Fernesia came into the Emperour handes . The whole processe of this mans death is at length set out in the stories of Italie : my purpose is onely to touch it , because hereby rose such a heate betwixt the whole fame- ly of Fernesia and Don Ferranto Gonzaga as hath stirred vp such a smoke in Italy betwixt the Em- perour and Fraunce as is not like to be quenched but with many a pooze mans bloud, as Horace noteth wittely out of Homer, saying:

What follies so euer great Princes make:  
The people therfore go to wrake.

*Quicquid delirant reges  
pletuntur achiui.*

Octauio beyng so rest greeued with his fathers death and beyng best able to reuenge it was so feared of Gonzaga that he thought hym selfe ne- uer assured for Petro Luis death as long as Octauio his sonne shoulde lyue : for men neuer loue whē they haue iust cause to feare, but must nedes still mistrust without all hope of reconcilyng whom they haue before hurt beyōd all remedy of amendes . And yet I heard a gentlemā of Millan say ( who was sent hether to the Emperour by Gonzaga ) that Octauio is such a Prince for good nature and gentle behauour that he supposed there was not one in Italy but did loue hym ex- cept it were his master Gonzaga . These two

C.j.

Prin-

*It is a settled rule  
of Margravell; but  
one can haue  
one master; but  
one master  
must you adde  
for geve.*

## A discours and affaires

Princes beyng neighbours the one at Millan the other at Parma shewed smal frendshyp the one to the other. But Octauio was evermore wrong to the worse by many and sundry spites, but chiefly with dayly feare of hys life by poysoning: for the which fact certain persons in Parma were taken and layd fast. Neuertheles Octauios nature is so farre from seekyng bloud and reuenge and so gauen to pitie and gentlenes, that although they went about not onely to geue awaie his state by treason, but also to take away his life by poysoning, yea, and after that the deede was proued playnly on them, and sentence of death prouinciued openly agaynst them, yet he gaue them lyfe and libertie which would haue taken both from hym.

And when Monsieur Thermes earnestly told him that where the euill were not kept in with feare of Justice, the good shold never lyue in surretie and quietnes: his aunswere was that he so abhorred the sheddynge of bloud in others as he would never wash his handes in any: let his enemies do to him the worst they could. Addyng, that he thought it his most honor to be vulykest such for his gentlenes which were mislikid of all me for their crueltie: wherby he hath wonne that he which of good nature can hurt none, is now of right loued of all and onely hated of him who no man in Italy for his cruelty doth loue. And this talke is so true that it was told in an other language but in the selfe same termes at an honorable table here in Bruxels by a gentleman of

of Millan an agent in the Court, a doer for Gonzaga, who the same tyme was prisoner in Parma.

And although Octauio by good nature was harmeles in not seekyng reuenge, yet he was not careles by good reason in seekyng hys remedy but made oft & great complaintes of his grieues to the Emperour, which were not so hotely made, but they were as coldly heard, that at length Octauio finding least comfort, where of right he looked for most ayde, & seyng that displeasures could not be ended in Gonzaga nor would not be amensed by the Emperour: then he compelled agaynst his nature turned his hate due to Gonzaga to reuenge this vndeserued vnykynnes in the Emperour, even as Pausanias dyd with Phillip kyng of Macedonie, who conqueryng with policie and power all outward enemyes, was slayne when and where, he thought him selfe most sure of his dearest friend, for vnykynnes, because Phillip ought and would not reuege Pausanias on him that had done him a soule displeasure.

Octauio seyng what was done to his father even when hys graundfather was Wyshop of Rome, thought, that now as his house decayed, so his iopardy increased. And therfore agaynst a desperate euill began to seeke for a desperate remedie, which was set from Rome a shop alwayes open to any mischier as you shall perceiue in these few leaues if you marke them well.

Octauio complained to Iulio tercio of the wrodges of Gonzaga & of the vnykynnes of the Emperour, Desiryng that by his wisedome and authoritie, he

would

Philip King of macedon  
was slayne by Pausanias  
and for vnykynnes  
by Phillip ought  
and would not  
reuege Pausanias  
on his heas had done  
a feulde Displa  
Pausanias

Rome a shopp  
alwayes open to  
any mischier

## A discours and affaires

would now succor him or els not onely he should  
lese his life but also the Church of Rome should  
lose her right in Parma, as she had done before in  
Placentia. The Byshop gaue good eare to this  
talke, for he spied that hereby should be offred vni-  
to him, a fit occasion to set the Emperour and  
Fraunce together by the eares. He thought the  
Emperour was to bigge in Italy hauyng on þ one  
side of Rome Naples vnder his obedience, on the  
other side Siena, Florence and Genoa at his com-  
maundement, besides Placentia, Millan, Montefer-  
rato, and a great part of Piemount.

The Emperour beyng thus strong in Italy, the  
Byshop thought his own state to be his so log as  
it pleased the Emperour to let him haue it: & ther-  
fore if Parma were not left an entry for Fraunce  
to come into Italy, he might ouersoone be shut vp  
in present miserie when all outward ayde should  
be shut out from him.

The Popes counsel was that Octauio should  
put him selfe vnder the French kynges protection  
whom hee knew would most willingly receiue  
him: Parma lying so fit for the French kyng, when  
soeuer he would set vpon the enterprize of Millan.  
This practise of the Pope Monsieur de Therimes  
the French kynges Ambassadours dyd vtter be-  
fore the consistoie of Cardinals at Roime: pro-  
uing that the Pope, not the kyng his master was  
the occasion of that warre.

Whan Octauio with the whole house of Far-  
nesia became thus Fréch, the Emperour more fea-  
ryng the state of Millan then lamentyng the losse  
of

of Octauio persuaded on his side the Wyshop of Rome to require Parma as the Churches right, & to punish Octauio as the Churches rebell, promising that he him selfe as an obedient sonne of the Church would stretch out his arme and open his purse in that recovery of the Churches right: nevertheless the Wyshop must beare the name of the warre because hee might not breake peace with Fraunce. Thus Princes openly cōtenācing quietnes & priuily brewyng debate although they got others to broch it, yet God commōly suffreth the selues to drinke most of the misery thereof in the end. The Wyshop seyng that he must either begyn the mischief or els it would not on so fast as he wilhed to haue it, set lustely vpon it: and first cited Octauio, after excommunicated him, and shortly after besieged Parma ayded both with me and money by the Emperour: which thyng the French kyng began to stomach, thinckyng that y Breach & Emperour dyd offer him both wrong & dishonor in not suffring him beyng a kyng to helpe a pooze man that fled to his ayde. And thus these two Fraunce.

Princes first helping others began by litle and litle to fall out them selues. And that the Pope dyd set these two Princes together, a Pasquill made at Rome and sent to this Court doth well declare. And seyng that you so well understand the Italian tong and that if it were turned into English it would leese the whole grace therof, I will recite it in the tong that it was made in.

*Adiscours and affaires  
Interlocutori Pasquillo et Romano.*

Pasq. *H*anno vn bel gioco il Re, et l'Imperatore  
per terzo el Papá, e giocano à Primera.

Rom. che s' e d' in vito? Pasq. Italia tutta intera.

Rom. Chi vi l'ha messa? Pasq. il coglion del pastore.

Rom. Che tien in mano il Re? Pasq. Ponto magiere  
el Papa hacinquant' uno, e se despera.

Rom. Cesār che Ponto s'as Pasq. In i sta a Primera

Rom. che gli manca? Pasq. danari a far sauore  
Il Papa dice à voi, e voll Partito.

Cesār Pensoso sta Sopra di questo,  
teme à Scropir di trouar moneta

Il Re dico, no, no, Scoprite Presto,  
che io tengo Ponto, a guadagnar l' in vito  
I ho li danari, et Cesār se gli aspetta.

¶ Tutti stanno a Vedetta.

Chi di lor dui guadagni. Rom. il Papa? Pasq. e fuora  
vinca chi vol, lui Perda, in sua razā hera.

¶ Le fmpereatore anchora.

Teme, étien stretto, è Scopre. Piau le carte,  
e qui, la sorte gioca, pin che l' Arte.

¶ Metra questi indissparte.

Stabilito e nel Ciel quelle, che esser dé,  
ne giona al nostro dic, questo Sarà questo è.

The French king in the sommer. 1551. proclai-  
med warre against Charles kyng of Spayne, abu-  
sing that name for a sottlety to separate y' whole  
quarell from the Empire: when the Emperour  
would

would not be persuaded at Augusta that either the Turke would, or the French kyng durst make him open warre , or that any Prince in Italy or Germany could be entised to breake out with him.

Monsieur Mariliacke the French Ambassadour at Augusta euer bare the Emperour in hand that such rumors of war were raysed of displeasure & that his master intended nothyng so much as the continuance of amitie, yea this he durst do, when many in y Emperours court knew that the war was already proclaimed in Fraunce.

The Emperour blinded with the ouer good opinion of his own wisedome, likyng onely what himselfe listed, and contemnyng easely all advise of others ( which selfe will condition doth commonly follow , and as commonly doth hurt all great wittes ) dyd not onely at this tyme suffer him selfe thus to be abused : but also afterward more craftely by the Pope for the continuance of warre at Parma , & more boldly by Duke Maurice for his repayre to Inspruke , and not the least of all, now lately at Metz by some of his owne counsellours for the recovery of that towne.

But Princes and great personages whiche will heare but what and whom they list , at the length fayle when they would not, and commonly blame whom they should not : But it is well done that as great men may by authoritie containne the good advise of others: so God doth provide by right iudgement that they haue leaue in the ende to beare both the losse and shame therof them selues.

C.iiiij.

Thus

## A discours and affaires

Thus ye see how the Pope was both the brewer and brocher and also bringer of ill lucke to both these Princes, and as it came wel to passe dranke well of it him selfe both with expences of great treasures, and with the losse of many lyues and specially of two noble gentlemen, the Prince of Macedonia & II Scign. Gionan Baptista di Monte his owne nephewe: but the Popes care was neither of money nor men, so that he might set the two Princes surely together. And therfore was not onely content (as a man might say) to hasard Parma on the meyne chalce: but to make the two Princes better sporte & fresher game, set also euē then Mirandula on a bye chaunce that mischief eough might come together.

Pope.

Parma.

Miradula.

When the Princes were well in and the one so lusty with good lucke that hee had no lust to leauē, and the other so chaled with leesyng, that still he would venture. Besides their playing in sporte for the Pope at Parma and Mirandula, they fell to it a good them selues in Piemout, Lorraine, Flaunders and Picardy, the French kyng robbing by Sea and spoylling by land, with calling in the Turke, and sturyng vp all Princes and states that had any occasion to beare any grudge to the Emperour. Of all their neighbours onely our noble kyng, and the wise senate of Venize would be lookers on.

Henry 2. kyng of france  
rulled in 1547. Turke  
to ayde him in his  
war against the Emperour  
was on.

And when the Pope saw they were so hote at it as he well knew as the one would not start in so great good lucke: so y other could not leauē by so much shaine of losse. And although it did him

him good to see them cope so lustly together: ne-  
vertheles he thought it scarce his surety that they  
should play so nere his elbow so earnestly, least if  
they fell to farre out and the one should winne to  
much of the other, then he peraduenture would  
compell at length the Pope him selfe which begā  
the play to kepe him sport afterward for that that  
he had in Italy. And therfore very craftely he gat  
them to play in an other place, and tooke up the The po-  
pes prac-  
tice.  
game for Parma and Mirandula taking truce with  
Fraunce for certaine yeares, and bad them make  
what sport they would farther of in Loraigne &  
Picardy. And that there should lacke neither ini-  
urie nor spite in the Popes doynges, whē the Em-  
perour saw that whether hee would or no, the  
Pope would needes fall in with Fraunce, then he  
desired the Pope that such bastilians and fortis-  
of fence as were made about Mirandula when it  
was besieged might either be deliuered to hys  
mens handes or els defaced that the Frenchmen  
might not haue them, which request was very  
reasonable sayng the Emperour had bene at all  
the charge in makyng of them: But they were  
neither deliuered nor defaced, nor left indifferēt,  
but so put into the French mens handes, that Mi-  
randula nowo is made very strong to the French  
faction by Emperours money and the Popes  
falsehode.

This fact was very wrongfull of the Pope  
for the deede: but more spitefull for the tyme: for  
euen when Duke Maurice had wonne Augusta,  
euen then the Pope gaue up the siege of Miran-  
dula

dula and fell in with Fraunce that care enough  
 might come vpon the Emperour together both  
 out of Germany, and out of Italy at once. And ene  
 this day, 25. June, 1553. when I was writing  
 this place, commeth newes to Bruxells, that the  
 Pope hath of new played with the Emperour  
 more soule play at Siena, then he dyd before at Mi-  
 randula: For whē the Emperour had bene at pas-  
 sing charges in kepyng a great host, for the reco-  
 uery of Siena from December last unto June; the  
 Pope would needes become stickler in that mat-  
 ter betwene the Emperour, the French kyng and  
 Siena promising such conditions to all, as neither  
 of the Princes should lose honour and yet Siena  
 should haue had liberties. The Emperour good  
 man yet agayne trustyng him who so spightfully  
 had deceaued hym before dismissed hys hoste,  
 which done Siena was left still in the French mēs  
 hādes; who therby haue such oportunitie to forti-  
 fie it, as y Emperoz is not like by force to recover  
 it Piramus Secretary to y Emperor told this tale  
 to Syr Phillip Hobby & the Bishop of Westmin-  
 ster openly at y table: which Piramus is a Papist  
 for his life: & beyng asked how he could excuse the  
 Popes vnykynnes agaynst his master y Empe-  
 rour: Hee aunswereid smilyng Iulius tercius is a  
 knaue but y Pope is an honest man, which saying  
 is come in this count. And although they wil dis-  
 derstād both y spight of y pope, & y shame of their  
 master, yet are they cōtent stil to speake of y pope  
 though he nevertheles still do ill to y Emperour.  
 And thus to retarne to my purpose how the Pope set the  
 two Princes together, & līft his owne necke a while out of  
 the

S. m. v. ann. 1553.  
 A. Piramus o.  
 Gulius T. tertius o.

the halter, leauyng most vnfrendly the Emperour when he was farthest behynd hand: and how Octavio for feare of Gonzaga, and vnykynnes of the Emperour fell with all hys famely to be French, I haue briesly passed ouer so, the hast I haue to come to the matters of Germany.

*The Prince of Salerne.*

The Emperour beynge thus set vpon by the Turke and Fraunce with open warre, and troubled by the house of Fernesia with so soddeyn breaches, and most of all ent-combred with the feare of the Turres in Germany which secretly were then in working: the Prince of Salerne also declared hym selfe an open enemy.

This Prince in this court is much beloved for his gentle-nes and openly praysed for his wisedome, & greatly lamented for his fortune, who before tyme hath done so god and saythfull service to the Emperour: that I haue heard soms in this Court say, which loue the Emperour well and serue hym in god place, that their master hath done the Prince so much wrong, as he could do no lesse then he dyd: who being so vnjustly hadled by his enemies, the Viceroy of Naples, and so vnykynly dealt with all by hys master the Emperour, was driven by necessite to seeke an vnlawfull shif.

The Viceroy Don Pietro de' Toldeo vncle to the Duke of Alua, a father in law to the Duke of Florece used him selfe with much cruelty ouer the people of Naples by extactions of money without measure, by Inquisition of mens doyngs without order, & not onely of mens doynges, but also of mes outward lookyngs, & inward thinkynges, usynge the least suspition for a sufficiet witnes to spoyle & to kill whō soever he listed. Me that had sutes unto him, had as leue bene away with the losse of their right, as haue come to his presence to abyde his lokes & taunts: And (as I heard a wise gentleman of Italy say) he gaue audience in such tyme & place, as

*Dr. do. son of  
son. pietro de'  
toldeo Viceroy of  
Naples.*

11 A discours and affaires

he may easlyer in this Court speake with Monſieur d'Arras then he could in Naples with the Vice royes Porter. And comonly he would not heare them whilſt an hundred futes ſhould come at once, and then the Porter let them in by one and by one, euen as he fauoured, not as the matter required, commaundyng them to be ſhort or els they ſhould come ſhort in the next tyme. And ſo mens futes were pulled frō comon law to priuate will, & were heard not in place open to Justice but in priuate Parlors ſhit vp to all that came not in by fauour or money. And therfore indgements were allotted not as law appointed, but as the Vice-roy listed. This fault (Ciceroyth) vndyd Cæſar who drew the comon law into his own house, & ſo in having other mens goods lost all mens hartes and not long after his owne lyfe: for euen thole that dyd helpe him plucke down Pompey, dyd after kill him for pulling downe the lawes: So we ſee that Princes not in gathering much money, nor in bearing ouer great ſwinge but in keping of frendes & good lawes lyue moſt merely & raigne moſt ſurely. But ſuch as gape alwayes for other mens goods comonly neuer enjoy þ fruite of their owne: for they neuer ceaſe to win by wroght till at length they leele by right goodes lyfe & all. And therfore it is notable þ Dion. in Plato writeth to Dionisius þ tyrant, how Euripides in every tragedie bringeth for ſome great vice one or other great Prince to ruine & yet not one doth complaine thus:

Out out alas alas, I dye for lacke of goodes.  
But every one ſingeth this ſong:

Out

*Ex aſt vnding, for  
drawing ſed com-  
ming into his  
owne goddes*

Out out alas alas, I dye for lacke offrendes. . . . .  
 For a Prince that will take mēs goods when  
 he listeth without order shall want mens hartes  
 whē he needeth wout pitie: but in hauyng their  
 hartes he shall never lacke their goodes, as the  
 good kyng Cirus sayd to the rich kyng Cr̄esus.  
 And to haue the peoples hartes the next way is  
 to be gentle to every one, iust to all and liberall to  
 many and especially to such as either by excellen-  
 cy of wit or good will in true seruice do well de-  
 scriue it. Also to set his chiefest ioy not in priuate  
 pleasure like Sardanapalus, but in commō wealth  
 as we haue example of Ticus Vespasianus: and to  
 thinke his treasure greatest, not when his coffers  
 be fullest as Cr̄esus dyd, but when his subiectes  
 be richest as Cyrus dyd & that through hys wise-  
 dome and care as all prayse worthy princes haue  
 euer hetherto done. And what will the people re-  
 det agayn to such a Prince? A small subsidy, with  
 a great grudge: no, but their whole hartes to  
 loue hym: their whole goodes to ayde hym: theyr  
 handes ready to defende hym, and theyr lyues as  
 ready to dye for hym when soever he shall haue  
 neede. A Prince that thus doth lyue and thus is  
 loued at home may be enuyed with much prayse,  
 and hated with smal hurte of any power abroad.

And therfore haue I heard wisemen discom-  
 mend the gouernement in Fraunce in makynge  
 theyr people almost slaues, and from thence a co-  
 mon saying of some in England, that would  
 haue the people neither witty nor wealthy when  
 wit is the meare gife of G D D: So that to wish

Sr. Joh<sup>e</sup>  
Gates  
wth.

D.ij. men

men lesse wit that haue it, is to count God scarce  
wise that gaue it. And wealth of the people as  
Scripture sayth is the glory of a Prince, and si-  
rety of hys raigne. But suspition in all gouerning  
breedeth such sayinges, when wrong doth beare  
such swynginge, as ill conscience doth alwayes wish  
that men should lacke either wit to perceave or  
habilitie to amende what soeuer is done amisse.  
But God send such Achitophels better ende then  
their counsels doth deserue: which would sent  
wise by other mens folly, and would be rich by o-  
ther mens pouertie.

To retorne to the Viceroy of Naples the common opinion of those in this Court which haue priuate cause to say wel on him do speake it boldly and openly , that he was such a one as never could content his couetousnes with money , nor never satissie his crueltie with bloud : And so by this soule meane many gentlemē in Naples haue lost some theyz liues but moe theyz liuynges , and almost all theyz libertie. And there be at this day as men say here that know it a good sort of thow sandes Neapolitanes , named Foriensuti , who being spoyled at home by violence , robbe other abroad for neede , which comber so the passage betwixt Rome and Naples , as no man departeth commonly from Rome without company which comineth to Naples without robbing .

The whole body of the kyngdome of Naples  
was so distempered inwardly with this misfor-  
tune, with a little outward occasion it would eas-  
ily haue burst forth into a houle sore. A lese mat-

foriensuti  
Aedies betrauen  
Soont and  
Waxles.

ter then the rauislyng of Lucrece, A meauer ayde  
 then the helpe of Brutus, was thought sufficient  
 to hane stirred vp this inward grudge to open  
 reuenge. But see how God prouided for the Em-  
 perour and the quynt of that kingdome: for God  
 in takyng away one Spanyard hath made Naples  
 now more strong, then if the Emperour had set  
 xx. thousand of the best in Spayne there: for euen  
 this last Lent. 1553. Don Pietro di Tolèdo dyed at  
 Florence by whose going away mens hartes in  
 Naples be so come agayne to the Emperour, as he  
 shall now haue lesse neede either to care for the  
 syne fetches of Fraunce, or to feare the great pow-  
 er of the Turke. A gentleman of this Court a true  
 seruaunt to the Emperour sayd merely in a com-  
 pany wher he was, that his master the Empe-  
 rour had won more in Naples by the death of the  
 Viceroy, then he had lost in Lorraigne by the for-  
 gyng of Metz.

But to my purpose not many yeares agoe dis-  
 uers in Naples made their complaint to the Prince  
 of Salerne of their grieses, who was thought  
 would be most willyng for his good nature, and  
 best able for his authoritie to seeke some remedie  
 for them by way of intercessio to the Emperour.

The Prince beynge here at Bruxels humbly be-  
 sought hys Maiestie to pitie the miserie of hys  
 poore subiectes: who by this late gat of the Em-  
 perour for hys clientes, wordes without hope:  
 and of the Viceroy for him selfe hatred without  
 ende. The Prince yet alwayes bare hym selfe  
 so wilye, that he could not without some sturre

*the death of Don  
 Pietro di Toledo, in  
 May 1553.*

## A discours and affaires

be thrust downe openly: and ridyng on his iour-  
ney he was once shot with a dagge secretly.

Thus he seyng no ende of displeasure in the  
Viceroy no hope of remedy in the Emperour,  
when he saw the Turke on the Sea, the French  
kyng in the field, Duke Maurice and the Mar-  
ches vp, and a good part of Italy either risen, or  
ready to rise, thinkyng the tyme come of theyr  
most hope for helpe by the Princes, and of least  
feare of punishment by the Emperour, came forth  
to play his part also amongest the rest: who whē  
flying first to the French kyng and after by hys  
counsell as it is sayd to the Turke, is compelled to  
venture vpon many hard fortunes. And what  
succes he shall haue either of helpe in Fraunce or  
comfort of the Turke, or mercy of the Emperour  
I can not yet write. But this last winter he hath  
lyen in the Isle of Cio, and now I heare say this  
sommer he is on the Sea with 63. Gallyes of  
the Turkes at his commaundement, what enter-  
prise he will make, or what successe he shall haue  
when we shall heare of the matter, I trust I shal  
either by some priuate letter from hence or by pre-  
sent talke at home fully satissie you therin.

¶ Albert Marches of Bradenburge.

Albert  
Marches  
Vibert's  
booke and  
the cōtent  
therol.

Albert Marches of Bradenburge in the begyn-  
nyng of his sturre. 1552. wrote a booke and  
set it print wherin he declared the causes of hys  
falling from the Emperour wittely alledgynge  
common misery as a iust pretence of hys priuate  
enterprise makynge other mens hurtes, his reme-

dy

Dy to heale his own sores and common wronges  
 hys way to reuenge priuate displeasures: shew-  
 yng liberty to be lost, and Religion to be defaced,  
 in all Germany, lamentyng the long captiuitie of  
 the two great Princes: and all the dispossessyng  
 of hys father in law Duke Otto Henrick; sore en-  
 ueyng against the pride of the Spanyardes and the  
 authoritie of straungers, which had now in their  
 handes the seale of the Impiere, and in theyr  
 swynge the doyng of all thynges, and at their co-  
 maundement all such mens boyces as were to be  
 called the Imperiall Dietes: copellyng the Ger-  
 manes in their owne countrey to ble straunge-  
 touns for their priuate sutes, wherin they could  
 say nothyng at all, or nothyng to the purpose: v-  
 sing Camera Imperialis at Spires for a common key  
 to open all mens coffers when they listed and  
 these were the chiefe points in Marches booke.

Sore and  
 iust cou-  
 playnes.

The Marches also soore enueyed agaynst Luice  
 de Auila for writing, and agaynst the Emperour  
 for suffring such a booke as Luice de Auila wrote:  
 wherin the honor of Germany and the Princes  
 therof a by name Marches Albert, who was in y  
 first warres on the Emperours side, was so defa-  
 med to all the world: yea the Marches was so  
 thouroughly chased with this booke, y when I was  
 in the Emperours court he offred y combat with  
 Luice de Auila, whiche the Emperour for good wil  
 and wise respectes would in no case admit.

The booke  
 of Luice de  
 Auila.

Not onely the Marches but also the Princes  
 at the Diet of Passau this last yeare made a com-  
 mon complaint of this booke. I knew also the

C.j.

good

## A discours and affaires

good old Prince Fredericke Palsgraue of þ Rhene in September last when the Emperour lay at Landaw beside Spires, goyng with his great army to Metz, complayned to the Emperour hym selfe and to his counsell of a certaine spightfull place in that booke against him: The good prince told me this tale him selfe at hys house in Heldbirge whē I caried vnto him kyng Edwardes letters, the Lord Ambassadour him selfe beyng sick at Spires.

The duke  
of Bauiere  
vnkynde  
handled.

And wise men say that the Duke of Bauiere, also is euill contented for that which is written in that booke agaynst his father when he deserued of the Imperials, to haue bene rewarded rather with praysle and thankes then with any vnkynde note of blamē and dishonour: of whom the Emperour in his warres agaynst the Lansgraue and the Duke of Saxonie received such kindnes, as no Prince in Germany for all respectes in þ case was able to assourde hym: as first he had his whole countrey of Bauiere for a sure footyng place, to begyn the warre in: and had also both men and vittaille of hym what he would, and at lēghth shoule haue had that countrey his onely refuge, if that in warre he had come to any vnderdele as he was like enough to haue done. But it was Gods secret will and pleasure to haue the matter then go as it did: And for that cause men say Duke Albert of Bauiere that now is that hath maryed the Emperours niece, was more straunge this last yere to the Emperour, when he was drüen to that extremitie to fye away on the night from

Duke Albert of  
Bauaria

In.

Inspurge and was more familiar with duke Maurice, and more frenidly to the Princes confederate then els peraduenture he would haue done.

And here a writer may learne, of Princes affaires a good lesson to beware of parcialitie either in flattery, or spight: For although thereby a man may please his owne Prince presently yet he may perchaunce as much hurt hym in the end as Luis de Auila dyd hurt y Emperour his master in wryting of this booke. In dede this booke was not y chiefest cause of this sturre in Germany: but sure I am that many Princes in Germany were sore agreed w<sup>t</sup> it, as the Emperour w<sup>t</sup>ed both they<sup>r</sup> hartes & their handes wh<sup>e</sup> he stode in most neede of frendes: Just reprehension of all vices as folie, vnusuall dealyng, cowardice, and vicious lyng, must be frely and frankindly vsed, yet so with that moderate discretion as no purposed malice or bēt hatrede, may seeme to be the breeeder of any false reproch which humor of wryting followeth so full in Paulus Iouius booke, and that by the judgement of his owne frendes, as I haue heard wise and well learned men say: that his whole study and purpose is spent on these pointes, to deface the Emperour, to flatter Fraunce, to spite England, to belye Germany, to prayse the Turke, to keepe vp the Pope, to pull downe Christ and Christes Religion, as much as lyeth in him. But to my purpose agayne.

The matters before of me briefly rehearsed, were at large declared in Marches Albertes booke: yet that you may know what secret w<sup>r</sup>kyng

E.ij. kynge

A copyne of  
Paulus Iouius  
His history.

## A discours and affaires

kyng went before this playne writyng and open  
doyng. And because the Marches part hath bene  
so notable in all this pastime, I will by more par-  
ticular circumstaunces lead you to this generall  
complaintes.

166.  
1544.

There be at this day ffeue Marchesses of Bra-  
denburge: Ioachimus Elector, Iohanes his brother  
who for Ciuite seruice is Imperiall with might  
and mayne, & yet in Religion a Christian Prince  
with hart tounge & honesty of lyfe: Doctour Chri-  
stopher Monte, both a learned and wise man, our  
kynges Maiestie seruaunt and his Agent in the  
affaires of Germany hath told me diuers tymes,  
that this Marches Iohn and the Duke of Swa-  
burg, be two of the worthiest Princes in all the  
Emper either in considering wisely, or executing  
courageously any great affaire. The thyrd is  
Marches George who dwelleth in Franconia not  
farre from Noremberg. The fourth Marches Al-  
bert the elder the mighty Duke of Prusia hable  
for his power to cope with any Prince, and xv.  
yeares together he dyd stontly withstand in con-  
tinuall warre the strength of the kyng of Pole.  
He hath so fully banished Papistry and so surely  
established the doctrine of the Gospell in Prusia,  
as no where hetherto in Germany is more dili-  
gently done, he loueth learnyng and honoreth  
learned men, and therfore an. 1544. he founded  
a new Universitie in Prusia called Mons Regius  
bryngyng therewith plentyfull thynges excel-  
lent learned men in all tounges and sciences. He  
is uncle to this notable Marches Albert, and lac-  
kyng

Duke of  
Prusia.

Margret Albert  
Duke of Prusia  
founded  
Universitie in  
Prusia called  
Mons Regius  
Ano 1544.

kyng children hath made him his heyre, and hath already inuestured hym in the Dukedom of Prusia.

The fist is Marches Albert of whom I purpose to write on: whose father was Cassimirus descended from the kynges of Pole, and for his noblenes agaynst the Turke called Achilles Germanicus: and therfore might very well engender such a hoate Pirrus. Marches Albert in hys young yeares as I haue heard wile men say, was rude in hys maners, nor did not shew any token of towardnes likely to attempt any such affaires as in Deede he hath done. It might be either for the lacke of learning and good bringyng vp (a great and common fault in great Princes of Germany) or els for his bashfull nature in youth, whiche proptie Xenophon wittely sayned to be in Cyrus at like yeares iudgynge bashfulness in youth to be a great token of vertue in age.

Marches Albert is nowo at this day about xxxi. yeares old: of a good stature, neither very high, nor very low, thicke without grosseenes: rather wel boned for strenght, then overloded with flesh: his face fayre, bewitifull, brode, sterne, and manly: somewhat reseimblynge my Lord Marches of Northt. When he was of the same yeares, his eyes great and rowlyng, makyng his countenance cherefull when he talketh: and yet whē he gemitheare to other he kepereth both a sadde looke without signe of suspicion, and also a well set eye without token of malice: And this behavour I marked well in hym when I dyned in his company

Cassimirus · Achilles  
Germanicus ·

lacke of learning, and  
good bringyng vp, is a  
great and common fault  
in great princes of Germany  
Xenoph. a.

xvpt.  
Bashfulness in youth  
is a great token of vertue  
in age.  
De cyrhus  
cap. Marques Alber

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pany at the siege of Metz, in the County Iohn of Nassaus tent, his boyce is great and his wordes not many, more ready to here other then to talke him selfe. And when he talketh he so frameth hys tounyng to agree with hart, as speakyng and meanyng seemeth to be alwayes at one in hym, and herein he may be well called the sonne of Achilles whom Homer wittely doth sayne to haue such a free open nature: whose saying in Greeke is excellent, but beynge turned in the wrong side into English, it shall lesse delight you yet thus much it signifieth:

*A free open nature  
in Ar. 1. 1. 1.*

Who either in earnest or in sport,  
doth frame hym selfe after such sort:  
This thyng to thincke and that to tell,  
my hart abhorreth as gate to hell.

Homer, meanyng hereby that a Prince of noble courage shoulde haue his hart, his looke, hys tounyng, and his handes so alwayes agreeynge together in thinkyng, pretendyng, and speakyng, and doyng, as no one of these four shoulde at any tyme be at iarde with an other, which agreeynge together in their right tyme, do make a pleasaunt melody in all mens eares both sweetest and loudest, called in English ( honor ) and most fitly in Greeke *Tiun*, the price and prayse of vertue.

And though the Marches be free to say what he thinketh, yet he is both secret in purposyng & close in working what soever hee goeth about. Now very skillfull to do harme to others, and as ware to keepe hurte from hym selfe, yet first bet  
vnto

Unto it with his own rod: for in þ former warres of Germany being on þ Emperours side he fell into the handes of Duke John Fridericke of Saxony, which chaunce he is charged sore withall by Luicc de Auila and that with so spight full and open a mouth, as moued the Marches to offer hym the combat as I layd before. He is now most couragous in hardest aduentures, most cherefull in present ieoperdy, and most paynfull in greatest labours: hauyng no souldier vnder him, that can better away with heate and cold or longer suffer hunger and thirst then he him selfe. His apparell is souldier like, better knownen by his feare doynges then by his gay going: His souldiours feare him for his stoutnes, and loue him for his liberalitie: which winneth to him authoritie fit for a stout Captaine, and worketh in them obediece due to good souldiours.

This last yeare a litle before hys agreement w the Emperour hys souldiours for lacke of money & meate fell to mutenyng and then fell the Marches fastest to hangyng, not hidyng him selfe for feare, but coming abroad with courage, did protest that neither the proudest should make misorder without punishment nor yet the poorest should lacke as long as either he had peny in hys purse or loafe of bread in his tent. And after this sort of outward behauour and inward condition in Marches Albert, as I haue marked his person my selfe and as I haue learned hys doynges by such as by experiance knew them well & for theyz honesty would reporte them right and now how

to march and better  
knowen of his feare  
Domynges born by þe  
gays going

## A discours and affaires

he fell fro the Emperour I wil as briefly declare.  
The Marches serued the Emperour as I said  
before in the former warres in Germany agaynt  
the Lansgraue and the Duke of Saxony, where he  
lost some honour and speut much money. This  
Emperour shortly after came downe hether to  
Bruxels hauyng the Marches in his company,  
who lookyng for a great recompence of hys costes,  
and receiuyng little, and seyng his honor not one-  
ly defaced in the field presently when he was ta-  
ken prisoner, but also defamed for euer by writing  
cōfirmed by the Emperours priuiledge to grow  
abroad in the world began to take the matter so  
unkindly, that he left comming to the Court, and  
kept his owne house: rising every day very early:  
and writing all the forenoone very diligently yet  
what he did no man knew: so that his absence  
breed a talke in the Court, and his suddein and  
secret study wrought a wonderfull gelousy of his  
doynges in the Emperours head: for he knew the  
Marches to haue courage enough to attēpt mat-  
ters ouer great: and therfore sent Mōsieur Grand-  
vill: unto the Marches house as of hym selfe to  
gropē out his doynges, who declared unto the  
Marches y Emperours great goodwil towards  
hym, shewyng that his Maiestie was purposed  
to make hym a great personage, & to begyn with-  
all had in mynde to geue hym a goodly and profi-  
table office in all his M̄ntes.

The Marches answere roundly and plain-  
ly to the first, that the Emperour could not make  
him greater then he was, beyng Marches of Bra-  
den-

denburge: And as for þ office in the Minte, he said smiling, he vsed not oft to tell his owne money, & therefore he thought not to make the accept of others & so made nothing of the Emperours offer: onely hee desired Grandeuill that the Emperour would geue him leaue to go home to his owne, which he obtained: And at his departure þ Emperour gaue him a patent of 4000. crownes by þ yeare: But þ Marches was not well fourre miles out of Bruxels, when he sent the patent by post to þ Emperour agayne saying: his Maiesie might better bestow it on some that had more neede of it. And in deede the Marches is as loth to receive of his frendes by beneuolence, as he is ready to take frō hys enemies by violence which commeth somewhat of to stout a couraige.

Thus the Marches came home not best consented as it may well appeare: nor saw not the Emperour after till he met hym at the siege of Metz. Casmirus his father and the Marches hym selfe were great spenders and deepe detters: the one for his stoutnes in warre, the other for his lustines in youth. And therefore became quicke borowers & slow payers, which thyng brought the Marches into such trouble as hee had with the City of Noreimberge with his neighbours the Bishop of Herbipolis and with his Godfather the Bishop of Pamberge.

The Marches was no sooner come home, but these Byshops spying their tyme, when he had left the Emperours Court, and had quite lost or much lessened his frendship there, bega to trouble

F. J. him

## A discours and affaires.

him with new suites for old debtēs in Camerā Imperiali, at Spires, where the Marches because hee lacked either fauour in the Court, or experiance in young yeares, or good matter on his side, was alwayes wrong to the worst, and to stuffe vp his stomach with more matter of unkindnes against the Emperour, it is sayd that letters from the greatest in the Emperours Court were never lackyng at Spires to helpe forward processe a- gainst the Marches.

Shortly after this tyme begā the siege of Madenburg where Duke Maurice by the Emperour was appoynted generall. The Marches either weery of leesyng at home by sutes, or desirous to winne abroad by warre, or els purposing to practise some way to reuenge his displeasures made him ready to serue against Madenburg with 500. horse. And in the begynnyng of the spryng of the yeare. 1551. he set toward and in his way went to visite Ernestus his cosin Duke of Saxony brother to Iohn Fridericke the prisoner with the Emperour. The selfe same tyme Lazarus Swendy was thon fredrick the sent from the Emperour as Commissary to duke Emperours prisoner Ernestus with earnest commaundement that the Duke and all his, should receiue the doctrine of the Interim. And that I may accomplish my purpose, which is to paynt out as truely as I can, by wrytyng, the very Image of such persons as haue played any notable part in these affaires: and so you beyng absent shall with some more pleasure read their doynges. This Lazarus Swendy is a tall and a comely personage, and beyng brought

*Ernestus. duke of.  
Saxony. brother to  
Emperours prisoner*

*Lazarus  
Swendy.*

brought vp in learnyng vnder Oecolampadius at  
Basile makynge (as it was told me by an honest  
man that was thoroughly acquainted with hym  
there) more accownt of his tall stature, the of any  
bewty of the mynde, began to be wary of lear-  
nyng, and became desirous to beare some bragge  
in the world: and so made a souldiour, mard a  
scholer, & because he would make a lusty chaunge  
from the feare of God and knowledge of Christ's  
doctrine, he fell to be a peruerse and bloudy Pa-  
pist: ever at hand in any cruell execution agaynst  
the poore Protestantes as commonly all such do  
which so wittingly shake of Christ, and his Gos-  
pelle: such a Commissary you may be sure would  
cruelly enough execute his office.

Duke Ernestus told the Commissary that he,  
his landes, and lyfe were at his Maiesties com-  
maundement, his Maiestie knew how quietly he  
bare him selfe alwayes, & therfore his trust was  
as he willingly serued the Emperour with true  
obedience: so he might as freely serue God with  
right conscience: for he would rather leaue hys  
landes and goodes and all to the Emperour, and  
go beg with his wife & children, then they would  
forsake the way of the Gospell which God hath  
commaunded them to follow.

And marke how evidently God dyd declare  
both how much such a Comission sent out abroad  
in Germany agaynst him and hys woorde dyd dis-  
please him: and also how much the prayers and  
sighyng hartes of iust men do in tyme preuayle  
with hym: for as a man of much honesty & great

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knowledge in all the matters of Germany did tell me, as soone as this Commissio was once abroad, the practises in Germany began to styrre, yet not so openly as the Emperour might haue iust cause to withstand them, nor so couertly but he had occasion enough to mistrust them: and thereby he both lacked helpe for open remedy, and wanted no displeasure for inward grief.

Duke Ernestus, Marches Albert, and Lazarus Swendy late at supper togethers: & as they were talkyng of þ Interim, the Marches suddenly brast out into a fury saying: what devill! will þ Emperour neuer leaue striuyng with God in defacyng true Religio and tossyng the world in Debarryng all mes liberties! addyng, that he was a Prince vnykynd to every man, and kept touch with no man, that could forget all mens merites, & would deceiue whom soever he promised.

The Duke liked not this hoate talke in hys house and at his table, but sayd: Colin you speake but merely, and not as you thincke, adding much the prayse of the Emperours gentlenes shewed to many, and of his promise kept withall. Well (quoth the Marches) if he had bene either kynde where men haue deserued or would haue performed that hee promised: neither shold I at this tyme accuse hym, nor you haue sit here in this place to defende hym, for he promised to geue me this house with all the landes that thereto belongeth: but ye be affrayd Colin (quoth þ Marches) lest this talke be to loud, and so heard to farre of: when in deede if the Commissarie here, be so honest

Deu. ad.  
A. 20

nest a man as I take him , and so true to his master as he shoulde be, he will not sayle to say what he hath heard, and on the same cōdition Commissary I bryng thee good lucke , and drancke of unto hym a great glasse of wīne. Lazarus Swendyes talke then sounded gētly and quietly , for he was sore affrayed of the Marches . But he was no sooner at home with the Emperour , but word was sent straight to Duke Maurice that the Marches who was as the come to Madenburg if he would needes serue there, should serue without wages.

We may be sure the Marches was chased a new with this newes who already had lost a great sort of hys men and now must leese hys whole labour therer , and all his wages there, besides the losse of hys honour in takyng such shame of hys enemies , & receiuyng such vnykynnes of the Emperour.

The Marches was not so greeued but Duke Maurice was as well contented with this commaundement : for euēn then was Duke Maurice Secretary practisynge by Baron Hadeckes aduise with the French kyng for the sturre which dyd follow: and therfore was glad when he saw the Marches might be made hys so easly whiche came very soone to passe: so that the Marches for the same purpose in the ende of the same yeare went into Fraunce secretly , and was there with Shertly as a commō Launce Knight , and named hymselfe Captaine Paul, lest the Emperour spials shoulde get out his doynges : where by the aduise of Shertly hee practisēd with the French kyng for

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the warres which followed after. This matter was told unto me by Iohn Mecardus one of the chief Preachers in Augusti, who beynge banished the Empiere, when and how ye shall heare after was fayne to fye, and was with Shertly the same yeare in Fraunce.

*Doctor Hasius.*  
The Marches came out of Fraunce in the beginnyng of the yeare. 1552. and out of hand gathered by men, but his purpose was not knowne, yet the Emperour mistrusted the matter, beynge at Insburg sent Doct. Hasius one of hys counsell, to know what cause he had to make such sturre. This Doct. Hasius was once an earnest protestat, and wrote a booke on that side, & was one of the Palsgraves priuy counsell: But for hope to clime higher, he was very ready to be entised by the Emperour to forsake first his master & then God: By who the Emperour knew much of all the Princes Protestants purposes, for he was commonly one whom they had vsed in all their Dietes and priuate practises: which thing caused the Emperour to seeke to haue hym: that by his head he might the easelyer ouerthrow the Protestantes, & with them God and hys word in all Germany.

This man is very lyke M. Parrie her graces cofferer in head, face, legges and bellye. What aulwere Hasius had I can not tell, but sure I am the Marches then both wrote his booke of complaintes agaynst the Emperour, and set it out in Punte. And also came forward with banner displayed, and tooke Dillyng vpon Danuby the Cardinall of Augustas towne, whiche Cardinall with

a few Priestes fled in post to the Emperour at Inspurg, where he found so cold cheare, and so little comfort, that forthwith in all hast, he posted to Rome.

Horsemen and footemen in great companies still gathered to the Marches: and in the eide of March he marched forward to Augusta, where he, Duke Manrice, the young Lansgraue, the duke of Mechelburg, George, and Albert, with William Duke of Brunswycke, and other Princes confederate met together and besieged that Citie, Wheres I will leaue the Marches till I haue brought Duke Maurice and hys doulges to the same time, and to the same place.

*¶ Duke Maurice.*

¶ At many yeares agoe whole Saxony was  
chiefly vnder two Princes: the one Duke John *whole Saxony.*  
Fredericke boyn Elector, who yet liueth, defens *vnder two prin-*  
der of Luther, a noble settter out, and as true a fol-  
lower of Chist and his Gospell: The other hys  
kynsman Duke George who is dead, Knight of  
the order of the Golden Fleece, a great man of the  
Emperour, a marytainer of Coelus, and a nota-  
ble piller of Papistry.

Duke John Fredericke is now 50. yeares of  
age, so byg of personage as a very strong horse is  
scarle able to beare hym & yet is he a great deale  
bygger in all kynde of vertues, in wisedome, iu-  
stice, liberalitie, stoutnes, temperancy in hym self,  
and humanitie towardes others, in all affaires,  
and either fortunes vsing a singulare trouth and

*John Fre-  
dericke  
Duke of  
Saxon.*

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stedfastnes: so that Luice de Auila, and the Secretary of Ferrare who wrote the story of the first warres in Germany, and professe to be his ernest enemies both for matters of state and also of Religion, were so compelled by his worthynes to say the truth as though theyr onely purpose had bene to write his prayse. He was faine yeaeres prisoner in this Court, where he wan such loue of all men, as the Spanyardes now say: they would as gladly fight to set hym vp agayne as euer they dyd to pull hym downe: For they see that he is wise in all his doynges, iust in all hys dealynges, lowly to the meanest, princely with the biggest, and excellyng gentle to all, whom no aduersitie could euer moue, nor pollicy at any tyme entice to shuncke from God and his wod. And here I must needes commend the Secretary of Ferrare, who beyng a Papist, and writyng the history of the late warres in Germany, doth not kepe backe a goodly testimony of Duke Frederickes constancy toward God and hys Religion.

When the Emperour had taken the Duke prisoner he came shortly after before the Citie of Wittenberg: and beyng aduised by some bloudy counsellours that Duke Frederickes Death shoud, by the terrorre of it turne all the Protestantnes from theyr Religion, caused a write to be made for the Duke to be executed the next morning vpon a solemne scaffold in the sight of his wife children, and the whole Citie of Wittenberg.

This write signed with the Emperours own hand was sent ouer night to the Duke, who whē

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writ

b. 5. fol. 11  
part. 22. 3.

the write came vnto hym was in hys tent playng at Chesse with his Cosin and fellow prisoner the Lansgraue of Lithenberg, and readyng it aduisedly ouer layd it downe quietly beside and made no countenance at all at þ matter, but sayd Cosin take good heede to your game, and returnyng to his play as quietly as though he had receiued some priuate letter of no great importance dyd geue the Lansgraue a trim mate.

*The Lansgraue of  
Lithenberg*

The Emperour (I doubt not) chiefly moued by God: secondly of his great wisedome and naturall clemency, when he vnderstoode his merueilous constancie chaunged his purpose and reuoked the write, and euer after gaue him more honour, and shewed him more humanitie then any Prince that euer I haue read of haue hetherto done to his prisoner.

He is also such a louer of learnyng as his Library furnished with booke of all tonges and sciencies, passeth all other Libraries which are yet gathered in Christendome: For my frend Ieronimus Wolsius who translated Demosthenes out of Greeke into Latine, who had sene the Frēch kings Library at Augusta, hath told me that though in six monethes he was not able onely to write out the titles of the booke in the Fuggers Library, yet was it not so byg as Duke Frederickes was which he saw in Saxony. I think he vnderstan-  
deth no straunge young laue somewhat the Latin and a little the French: And yet it is merueilous that my frend Iohannes Sturmius doth report by writing, what he heard Phillip Melanthon at a

*The french kings  
Library at Augusta*

*The fuggers*

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tyme say of this noble Duke: that he thought the Duke did priuately read & write more every day then did both he and D. Autifaber which two were counted in all mens iudgementes to be the greatest readers and writers in all the Universitie of Wittemberg.

And as hee doth thus read with such diligence, even so he can report with such a memory what soeuer he doth read, and namely histories, as at his table on every new occasion he is accustomed to recite some new story which hee doth with such pleasure and vtterance as men be content to leaue their meat to heare him talke: and yet hee hym selfe is not disdaynfull to heare the meanest nor will ouerwhart any mans reason. He talketh without taunting, and is mery without scoffyng, deludyng no man for sport, nor nipping no man for spight.

Two kindest of men as his Preachers did tell me at Vilacho he will never log suffer to be in his house: the one a commo mocker, who for his pride thinketh so wel of his owne wit as his most delight is to make other men sooles, and where God of his prouidence hath geuen small wit he for his sport wil make it none, and rather then he should leele his pleasure, he would an other shoulde leele his wit: as I heare say was once done in England, and that by the sufferaunce of such as I am sorry for the good wil I bear them to heare such a report: the other a priuy whisperer a pickthacke a tale teller medling so with other mens matters, as he findeth no leysure to looke to his owne: one such

Such in a great house is able to turne and tosse the quietnes of all. Such two kinde of men sayth the Duke besides the present troubling of others never or seldomme come to good end them selues. He loueth not also bold and thicke skinned faces, wherein the meauyng of the hart doth never appere. Nor such hid talke as lyeth in wayte for other mens wittes. But would, þ wordes should be so framed with the tounyng, as they be alwayes ment in the hart.

And therfore the Duke him selfe thincketh no-  
thyng which he dare not speake, nor speakeþ no-  
thyng whiche he will not do. Yet hauyng  
thoughtes grounded vpon wisedome, his talke  
is alwayes so accompanied with discretion and  
his deedes so attende vpon true Dealyng, as he  
neither bitem with wordes, nor wringeth with  
deedes, except impudency follow the fault, which  
Xenophon wittely calleth the farthest point in al  
doyng, and then he vseth to speake home as he  
did to a Spanyard this last yeare at Villacho, who  
beyng of the Dukes garde, when he was pris-  
oner, and now preasyng to sit at his table when he  
was at libertie, Because many nobles of þ Court  
came that day to dine with the Duke, The gentle-  
man Husher gently desired the Spanyard to spare  
his rowme for that day for a great personage:  
But hee countenancynge a biaue Spanish bragge,  
sayd, Seignor ye know me well enough, and so sat  
him downe.

The Duke heard him, and preuentynge hys  
mans aunsweare sayd: In Deede you be to well  
G.ij. knowne,

*A noble na-  
ture.*

*academye following  
fault, is to  
point in ill domes  
impendentiam. Sicut in  
of capitando. Xenophop  
Duke. Fredericks  
Sun were to a  
Spaniard.*

## A discours and affaires

knowen, by the same toke the last tyme you were here you tooke a gobblet away with you, & therfore when you haue dyned you may go without facewell, and haue leaue to come agayne when ye be sent for. In the meane while an honest man may occupy your place. But in remembryng so good a Prince I haue gone to farre from my matter: And yet the remembraunce of him is neuer out of place, whose worthynes is neuer to be forgotten.

Duke George of Saxony a little before he dyed hauyng no child did dishinherite Duke Henry his brother by his last wil because he was a Protestant, and gaue away his whole inheritance to Ferdinando kyng of Romaines.

But Duke John Fredericke by force of armes set and kept his Cosin Duke Henry in his right: And he dying soone after left behynd hym two sonnes Duke Maurice and Duke Augustus, who likewise in their youth were defended in theyr right by the wisedome and force of Duke John Fredericke. Duke Maurice was brought vp in Duke John Fredericke's house as if hee had bene hys owne sonne and marayed the Lansgraues daughter.

After it came to passe that the Emperour attempted to establish Papistry in Germany with the sword, agaynst which purpose the Lansgraue and Duke John Fredericke armed them selues not to resist the Emperour as the Papistes say, but to kepe Gods Religion vp, if any by violence would pull it downe, refusling neuer, but requiring alwayes

wayes to referre them and theyz doctrine to a lawfull and free generall Councell where truth in Religion might be fully tryed in the hearyng of euen and <sup>equall</sup> judges and that by the touchstone of Gods Canonicall Scriptures.

Duke Maurice in the begynnyng of his warre  
was suspected neither of the Lansgraue nor of  
Duke Fredericke beynge sonne in law to the one  
and nigher kinsman to the other and agreeing in  
Religio with both. Nea he was not onely not sus-  
pected. But as I heard skilful me say he was rea-  
dy with his counsell & promised his ayde to helpe  
forward y enterprize, or els Hance Fredericke be-  
yng a Prince of such wisedome would not haue  
left at home behynd hym an enemy ofsuch a force.

Francisco Duke Maurice Agent with the Emperour was asked, I beyng by at Augusta, how he could excuse his masters vnkindnes towards John Fredericke who had bene such a father unto him. He graunted that Duke Fredericke had bene a great frend unto him, and might haue a greater if he had would, and the lesse strife had followed then did. And troth it is (sayd he) as Duke Fredericke kept my master in his right, so afterward he put him from part of his right, when in his young yeares hee chopped and chaunged landes with him when he listed: which thing my master comming to mans state much disliked, and oft complaynyng could never obtayne remedy there in. Kyndnes shold rather haue kyndly encreased <sup>to</sup> vnkindly haue decayed specially when the one was trusted withall, and the other of

## A discours and affaires

such yeares, as he had neither wit to perceine nor power to amend if any iniurie were offred vnto hym. Troth also it is that my master was brought vp in Duke Frederikes house: but he hath more cause to complaine on them that brought hym thether, then to thanke such as brought hym vp there, where he had alwayes plentie of drinke and as much scant of good teachyng to come to such vertue and learnyng as dyd belong to a Prince of his state.

Now whether this talke was altogether true, or, an ill excuse was made to couer a foule fact I can not tell: but sure I am Francisco sayd thus. I haue heard wise men say that it is not lyke, that for such a priuate strife Duke Maurice would haue so forsaken not onely his friend and kinsman, but also his father in law or would for the losse a little, or rather for the change of a peece haue so hassarded his whole estate, which was once in the first warre all gone saue Lypzia, and one other towne, beside the losse of loue in whole Germany and his good name amongst all Protestantes, in the middest of whom all hys lieutenes do lye.

Why Duke  
Maurice  
left hys  
dearest  
frendes and  
fell in with  
the Empe-  
our.  
Ambition.

Well surely there was some great cause that could sturre vp so great a strife, and that was as wise men and wel willyng on Duke Maurice side in myne opinion haue truly iudged, the foule vice of ambition.

O Lord how many worthy men hath this one vice beareft from good common weales, which for all other respects were most vnwooz-  
thy

thy of that end they came unto. My hart weepes  
for those noble men of England, whose valiant-  
nes in warre, whose wisedome in peace this  
Realme shal want and wayle and wish and wish  
for in tyme to come, which of late by this onely  
vice haue bene taken from vs. Examples, lesse for  
our grief and as fit for this purpose be plenty e-  
nough in other states.

Quer many experiences do teach vs, though  
a Prince be wise stout liberall gentle mercyfull  
and excellently learned, though he deserue all the  
praye, that vertue nature and fortune can affound  
him, yea that wit it selfe can wile for as we read  
that noble Julius Cæsar had, and that by the testi-  
mony of those that loued him not, neuertheles if  
these two foule verses of Euripides,

Do right alway and wrong refraine,

Except onely for rule and raigne.

If these verses I say do not onely sound well  
in his eare, but sincke deepe also in his hart, sure-  
ly there is neither kindred, frendship, law, othe,  
obedience, countrey, God, nor his owne life, but  
he will hassard to leese all rather then to pursue  
this foule vice: For Polynices, for whom this  
verse was first made in Greeke, did fill not onely  
his owne countrey full of dead carcasses, but also  
whole Greece full of weepyng widdowes. And  
Cæsar for whom the same verse was turned into  
Latin did not onely turne vsipside down the good-  
liest common wealth that euer G D suffered to  
stand vpon the earth: but also tossed the whole

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world with battayle and slaughter even almost from the sunne setting vnto the sunne rising. And did not stop to bryng souldiours to do mischief further then any man now dare iourney by land either for pleasure or profite.

*the dangerous fate  
of high climers.*

But see the fruite and end which this vngodly great growing bringeth men vnto: Both these Princes were slaine the one by his brother the other by his owne sonne, of whom in life, nature & benefites would they shoule haue taken most confort of. But men that loue to clime to hye haue alwayes least feare, and therefore by reason fall most suddenly and also fardest downe: yea the very bowghes that helped hym vp will now whip hym in fallyng downe: For who so in clymyng trusteth when he is goyng vp any bough at all ouer much, though hee seeme to tread neuer so surely vpon it yet if he once begyn to slyp the same selfe bough is reddiest to beat him that seemed before surest to beare him. Examples hereof be seen dayly and forgotten hereby.

In other mischief chaunceth commonly to these high climers: that they will heare no man so gladly as such which are euer hartenyng them to clime still. If wise and good men durst speake more freely then they do: great men shoule do both others and them selues lesse harme the they are wont to do. He hateth hym selfe and hasteth his owne hurt that is content to heare none so gladly as either a foole or a flat teter. A wonderfull follie in a great man hym selfe and some peace of miserie in a whole common wealth, where

fooles chiefly, and flatterers may speake freely what they will and wise men and good men shal commonly be shent, if they speake what they shoule.

And how commeth this to passe? it is the ver  
ry plague of God for great mens sinnes, and the  
plaine high way to their iust punishment. And  
when God suffreth them so willingly to graunt  
freedome to follie and so gladly to geue hearyng  
to flattery: But see when the great man is gone  
and hath playd his part, fooles and flatterers be-  
stil vpon the stage. Such liue in all worldes, such  
laugh in all miseries: such Davi and Getae, haue  
alwayes the longest partes: and go out who shal  
they tary in place still. I know also many a good  
micio, which haue played long partes whom I Mitio  
pray God kepe long still vpon the stage. And I  
trust no man will be discontent with my gene-  
rall saying except conscience do pricke him of his  
owne priuate ill doyng.

There be common wealthes where freedome  
in speakyng truth hath kept great me from bold-  
nes in doyng ill: for free and frendly advise is the  
triumnest glasse that any great man can vse to  
spye his owne fault in: which taken away they  
runne commonly so farre in foule doyng, as some  
neuer stay till they passe all remedy saue onely to  
late repentaunce. And as I would haue no flat-  
tery but wish for freedome: So in no wise do I  
commend ouermuch boldnes, or any kind of rapping.  
But that libertie in speakyng should be so  
mingled with good will and discretion, as no

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great person should be vnhonorable spoken vpon, or any meane man touched out of order either for sport or spite: as some vnquiet heades never contented with any state are euer procuring either secretly with raylyng billes, or openly with taunting songes, or els some scoffing common play.

I. Description of  
discourser of  
state matters

In other kynd of to bold talkers surpasle all these selly rumors, who are called, and so will be, commo discoursers of all Princes affaires. These make a great accompt of them selues and will be commonly formost in any prease, and lustly without blushing shoulde backe others: These will seeme to see further needes, in any secret assayze then the best and wilest cousellor a Prince hath. These be the open flatterers and pruyn mislikers of all good cousellors doynges. And one common note, the most part of this brotherhode of discoursers commoly carry with them where they be bold to speake: to like better Tullies Offices, then S. Paules Epistles; and a tale in Bocace, then a stori of the Bible.

And therfore for any Religion earnest setters forth of present tyme: with conscienties confirmed with Machiauelles doctrine to thyncke say and do what soever may serue best for profite or pleasure. But as concerning flatterers and raylers to say mine opinion whither I like worse, surely as I haue read few men to haue bene hurt with bitter poysong: so haue I heard of as few great men to haue bene greatly harmed with sharpe talker: but are so warden therin, that commonly they wil complaines of theye hurt before they feele harme. And

not be flattered  
or rayled be more

dat-

flattery agayne is so sweete; that it pleasest best; when it hurteth most; and therfore is alwayes to be feared; because it alwayes delighteth, but in looking aside to these hye climers, I haue gone out of the way, of mine owne matter.

To returne to Duke Maurice; he saw that Duke Frederikes fallyng might be his rising; and perchaunce was moued with some old iuries, but beyng of young yeares and of nature full of desire and courage he was a trimme pray for old practises to be easely carryed away with fayre new promises sounding altogether to honor and profit, and so he forsoke his father and his frend, and became wholly the Emperours tillhee had brought both them into prison. Duke Fredericke was taken in the field and so became the Emperours iust prisoner. Yet as long as the Lansgraue was abroad, the Emperour thought his purpose never atchieued, and therefore practised a new with duke Maurice to get him also into his hads.

Duke Maurice with Ioachim Elector of Brandenburg became meanes betwixt the Lansgraue and the Emperour. Conditions both of mercy from the one, and of amendes from the other were drawen out. Maurice and the Marches bound them selues sureties to the Lansgraues chidren, for their fathers safe returne: for amongst the rest of conditions this was one of the chiefeſt, that he shoulde come in no prison. And so at Hala in Saxony, he came boldly to the Emperours presence, who receiued him not very cherefullly, nor gaue him not his hand which in Germany is the

In Germany, when they do say fulfylle betwixt parties to give uppe for to be a token of an affaire  
et faciliſſion. Very  
H. H. to say fulfylle betwixt parties to give uppe for to be a token of an affaire  
et faciliſſion.

## A discours and affaires

very token of an assured reconciliation.

The Duke of Alua made the Lansgraue a supper, and called also the other Duke Maurice, and the Marches of Bradenburg where they had great chere: but after supper it was told Duke Maurice and the Marches, that they might depart for the Lansgraue must lodge there that night.

On the morrow, they reasoned of the matter wholly to this purpose that the Emperours promises not the Lansgraues person ought to be kept. Aluswere was made that the Emperour went no further then conditions led him which were that he shold not be kept in euerlastyng prison: and they agayne replyed he ought to be kept in no prison. When I was at Villacho in Carinthia I asked Duke Frederikes Preacher what were the very wordes in Dutch, wherby the Lansgraue agaynst his looking was kept in prison. He sayd the fallacion was very pretty and notable and tooke his penne and wrote in my booke the very wordes wherin the very controuersie stode, duke Maurice sayd it was.

*Nicht in emig gefengknes.* i. Not in any prison.

The Imperials sayd no, but thus.

*Nicht in ewig gefengknes.* i. Not in euerlastyng prison. And how soone emig, may be turned into ewig, not with scrape of knife, but with the least dash of a pen so that it shall never be perceived, a man that will proue, may easely see.

Moreover Luice d'Auila in his booke doth rejoyce that the Lansgraue did so deceave hym selfe with his owne conditions in makynge of which

as d'Auila saith, he was wont to esteeme his own  
wit aboue all other mens. Well, how so euer it  
came to passe the Lansgraue was kept in prison.  
And from that houre Duke Maurice fell from the  
Emperour thinckyng hym selfe most vnykndly  
hadled, that he by whose meanes chiefly the Em-  
perour had won such honor in Saxony, must now  
be rewarded with shame in all Germany, and be  
called a traytor to G O D, and hys countrey,  
his father, and his frend. And though he was  
greeued inwardly at the hart, yet he bare all  
thynges quietly in countenance purposing though  
he had lost will yet would he not leese his profite,  
and so hidyngh his hurt presently, whilist some fit-  
ter time shoulde discouer some better remedy, he  
went with the Emperour to Augusta, where ac-  
cordyng to hys promise he was made Elector.  
But the same night after hys solemne creation,  
two verses set vpon his gate might more greue  
him, then all that honour could delight hym,  
which were these.

Duke Maurice made  
elector.

*Seu Dux, seu Princeps, seu nunc dicaris Elector.  
Mauricij Patrie proditor ipse tui.*

After that he had gotten that he looked for,  
he gat hym home into his countrey: from whence  
afterward the Emperour with no pollicie could  
ever byng hym, he alwayes alledgyng, the feare  
that he had of some sturre by Duke Frederikes  
children.

Hetherto the Germanes much mislyked the  
doynges of Duke Maurice. But after that he had

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felt him selfe so vnkyndly abused as for his good seruice to be made the betrayer of his father, he tooke such matters in hand & brought them so to passe, as he recovered the loue of his countrey and purchased such hate of his enemyes, as the Spanyardes tooke their displeasure from all other, and bestowed wholly vpon the Duke Maurice; and yet he bare him selfe with such wit, and courage agaynst them, as they had alwayes cause to feare hym and neuer occasion to contemne hym: Bea if he had liued he would sooner men thinke haue driven all Spanyardes out of Germany, then they shold haue hurt hym in Saxony, for he had ioyned vnto him such strength, and there was in him such pollicie, as they durst neuer haue come vpon him with power, nor neuer shold haue gone beyond hym with wit. He had so displeased the Emperour as he knew wel neither his lades: nor his life could make amendes whē x. poundes of Benefites vwhich he was able to do, could not way with one ounce of displeasure that he had already done; and therefore neuer after sought to seeke his loue vwhich he knew could neuer be gotten: but gaue him selfe wholy to set vpon Maximiliā, who beying him selfe of great power, and of all other most beloued for his worthynes in all Germany, and now vning the head and hand of Duke Maurice and his frendes, and hauyng the helpe of as many as hated the Spanyardes, that is to say almost all Protestantes and Papistes to in Germany, he shold easly haue obtained what soeuer he had gone about. But that bondē is now bro-  
ken

ken: for euен this day when I was wryting this place, came word to this Court, that Marches Albert, and Duke Maurice had foughht, where the Marches had lost the field, and Duke Maurice had lost his life: which whole battaile because it is notable, I would here at length describe, but that I shoulde wander to farre from my purposed matter: and therfore I in an other place, or els some other with better oportunitie shall at large report the matter.

¶ See the cause why and the time whē Duke Maurice fell from the Emperour. And because he was so notable a Prince, I will describe also the maner how he proceded in all these doyngs, as I learned amongst them that did not greatly loue him. And because it were small gayne to flatter him that is gone, and great shame to lye vpon him that is dead, for pleasyng any that be alyue, I so will report on hym as his doynges since my commyng to this Court haue deserued.

He was now of the age of xxxii. yeares well faced in countenance complexion fauour and beard not much vnlke to Syr Raffe Sadler but some deale higher, and well and strong made to beare any labour and Payne. He was once (men say) geuen to drinckyng, but now he had cleane left it, contented with small diet and little sleepe in his last yeares, and therefore had a wakyng and working head: and became so witty and secret, so hardy and ware, so skillfull of wayes, both to do harme to others, and keepe hurt from himselfe; as he never tooke enterprize in hand

the Description  
of Duke Maurice

# A discours and affaires

The  
Turke.

wherein he put not his aduersary alwayes to the worse. And to let other matter of Germany passe, euен this last yeare within the compasse of eight monethes he professed him selfe open enemy agaynst fourre the greatest powers that I know upon earth. The Turke, the Pope, the Emperour, & the French king, & obtained his purpose and wan prayse agaynst the all fourre: For he in person and pollicie & courage dispatched the Turkes purpose and power this last yeare in Hungary.

The Pope

The Councell at Trent which the Pope & the Emperour went so about to establish he onely brought to none effect: first by open protestatio agaynst that Councell, and after by his commynge with his army to Insburge, he brought such feare to the Bishops there gathered, that they ran euery one farre away fro thence, with such speed as they never durst hetherto speake of meeting ther agayne. And how he delt with y Emperour, both in forcyng him to fye from Insburge, and compet- lyng him to such a peace at Passo, my whole Dia- rium shall at full instruct you.

The Em-  
perour.

French  
kynge.

And of all other he serued the Fréch kynge best, who fayre pretensing the delivery of theis. Prin- cesse captiues, and the maintenaunce of Religion & libertie in Germany, purposed in very deede no- thyng els, but y destruction of the Emperour, & the house of Austria: for what cared he for religion a- broad, who at home not onely followeth none him selfe priuately in his life, but also persecuteth the trouth in others openly with the sword. But I do him wrong to say he followeth none, who could

could for his purpose be content at one time to embrase all: & for to do hurt enough to the Emperor would become at once by solemne league, Protestant, Papish, Turkish, & Deuillish. But such Princes that carry nothing els but the name of bearing vp Gods word, deserue the same praysle and the same end that that Prince dyd, who seemed so ready to beare vp y Arke of the Lord, & yet otherwile pursued Gods true Prophetes & his word.

Agayne how much the French kyng cared for the libertie of Germany he well declared in stealyng away so vnhonorablely from the Empire the Citie of Metz. But he thinking to abuse Duke Maurice for his ambitious purpose, in very deede & in the end Duke Maurice vsed him as he shold: for first he made him pay well for y whole warres in Germany as it is sayd. 200000. crownes a moneth: And after when the French kyng fell to catching of Cities, duke Maurice tendryng y state of his countrey brake of with hym, and began to parle w the good kyng of Romanes at Lutz, which thyng whē the Frēch kyng heard came within iij. miles of the Rhēne, he straight way hyed more hastly & with more disorder, for all his great hast, out of Germany, as they say that were there, then the Emperour being sicke without company and pressed by his enemy dyd go from Insburg.

And see how nobly Duke Maurice did which for y loue of his countrey, durst fall from the Frēch kyng before he atchieued any thyng agaist the Emperour. And rather the Germany should leese her Cities so by the French king, he had leuer ha-

## A discours and affaires

sard, both the leesing of his enterprize, & also the leauyng of hys father in law still in prison with the Emperour. But as he had wit to take money pleny of the French kyng: so had he wit also to furnish him selfe so frō home as he durst first fall out with the French kyng, & durst also after to set vpon the Emperour till he had brought his honest purpose to passe. For there is not almost any in this Court but they will say duke Maurice did honest-ly in deliuering his father by strong hand, which before left no fayre meane unprooued to do that humbly by entreaty, which after, was copelled to bryng to passe stoulty by force. And I pray you first marke well what he did and then iudge truly if any thing was done that he ought not to do.

For first he him selfe with þ Marches of Bradenburge most humbly by priuate sute laboured for the Lansgraues deliuery offring to the Emperour, princely offers, and not to be refused: as a huge summe of money: a fayre quantitie of great ordinaunce, certaine holdes of his, some to be defaced, some geue to þ Emperour: and also personall pledges of great houses for hys good habe-raunce all the residue of his life.

After whē this sute was not regarded they againe procured all þ Princes & states of Germany baying at þ Diet at Augusta. an. 1548. to be hūble intercessors for him, offring þ selfe same cōditions rehearsed before addyng this more to become surreties them selues in any bande to his Maiestie for his due obedience for tyme to come.

Thirdly by the Prince of Spayne Duke Maurice

Duke  
Maurice  
offer for the  
Lansgraues  
deliuery.

rice never left to entreat y Emperor, yea he was so carefull of y matter, that his Ambassadors followed the Prince even to his shipping at Genoa: who had spoke ofte presently before, & wrote earnestly frō thence to his father for y Lansgraues Deliery, & it would not be. And wise mē may say it was not y wisest deede that euer y Emperor did, to deny y prince this suite: for if y Prince had bene made y deliverer of y iij. princes out of captivity, he had won therby such fauor in all Germany, as wout all doubt he had bene made coadiutor w the k. of Romaines his uncle, And afterward y Emperor. wch thing was lustly denied to y Emperor by the Electors, though he laboured in y matter so soze as he never dyd in any other before.

Fourthly this last yeare a litle before the open warres Duke Maurice procured once agayne, not onely all y Princes and free Estates of Germany, but also the kyng of Romaines Ferdinand, Maximilian his sonne king of Boeme, the kyng of Pole, the kyng of Dēmarke the king of Sweden, to send also their Ambassadors for this suite, so that at once xxiiij. Ambassadors came before the Emperor together at Inburg. To whom whē the Emperor had geren very sayre wordes in effect cōcernyng a double meanyng aunsweare, & that was this: That it did him good to see so noble an Ambassage at once. And therfore so many Princes should well understand y he would make a good accompt of their suite. Nevertheles because Duke Maurice was the chiefest partie herein he would with speede send for him, and bē his head for the bet-

better endyng of this matter. But Duke Maurice  
seyng that all these Ambassadoz wet home with  
out him, and that the matter was referred to his  
present talke who was never heard in the mat-  
ter before, he wisely met with this double mea-  
ning aunsweare of the Emperours with a double  
meanyng replica agayne: for he promised the Em-  
perour to come, and at last in deede came so hast-  
ly and so hotely as the Emperour could not a-  
bide the heat of his breath: for when Duke Maur-  
ice saw that all humble suites, all quiet meanes  
were spent in vayne, & had to beare him iust wit-  
nes therin all y Princes of Germany: first with  
close policie, after open power both wittely and  
stoutly, he atchieued more by force then he requi-  
red by suite: for the Emperour was glad to con-  
descend ( which surely in an extreme aduersitie  
was done like a wise Prince ) without money,  
without artillery, without defacyng of holdes,  
wout receiuyng of pledges, to send the Landgrau  
home, honorably accompanied with ( at the Empe-  
rozs charges) the nobilitie of Brabant & Flaunders.

This last day I dined with the Ambassadour  
of Venice in company of many wise heades, where  
duke Maurice was greatly praysed of some for his  
wit: of other for y execution of his purposes. Well  
sayth a lusty Italian Priest, I can not much prayse  
his wit, which might haue had the Emperour in  
his handes & would not. Doe such be these Machi-  
auels heades, who thincke no man to haue so much  
wit as he shoud, except he do more mischief then  
he neede. But Duke Maurice purposing to do no  
harm

harme to the Emperour, but good to his father in law, obtainyng y one pursued not the other. Pea  
I know it to be most true whē we fled from Ins-  
burg so hastly, Duke Maurice sent a post to y good  
kyng of Romanes, & bad him will the Emperor to  
make no such speede for he purposed not to hurt  
his person: but to helpe his frend, whereupon the  
Diet at Passo immediatly folowed.

I comend rather the iudgement of John Bap- John Bap-  
tist Gascaldo, the Emperours man and y kyng of tist Gaf-  
Romanes generall in Hungary, who is not wont caldo.  
to say better, or loue any man more then he shoud  
specially Germaines, & namely Protestantates. And  
yet this last winter he wrote to the Emperour  
that he had marked Duke Maurice well in all his  
doynges agaynst the Turke, and of all men that  
ever he had sene, he had a head to forecast the best  
with pollicie and wit, and a hart to set vppon it  
with courage and speed, & also a discessiō to stay  
most wisely vpon the very pricke of aduantage.

Marches Marignan told some in this Court  
four yeares ago that Duke Maurice shoud be-  
come the greatest enemy to the Emperour that e-  
uer the Emperour had: which thing he iudged (I  
beleue) not of any troublesome nature which he  
saw in Duke Maurice, but of the great wronges  
that were done to Duke Maurice, knowyng that  
he had both wit to perceiue them quietly and al-  
so a courage not to beare them ouer long.

Some other in this court that loued not duke  
Maurice, & hauyng no hurt to do him by power,  
went about to say him some for spight & therfore

*A discours and affaires  
wrote these two spightfull verses agaynst him.*

*Inzurtham Mauricus prodit Mauricius ultra,  
Henricum, Patrum, Socerum, cum Cæsare, Gallum.*

He that gaue me this verle added thereunto  
this his iudgement, well (sayth he) he that could  
finde in his hart to betray his frend Duke Henry  
of Brunswicke, his nigh kinsman Duke Fredericke,  
his father in law the Lansgraue, his soueraigne  
Lord the Emperour, his confederate the French  
kyng, breakyng all bondes of frendshyp, nature,  
law, obediece, and othe, shall besides all these, De-  
ceauie all men if at length he do not deceauie hym  
selfe. This verle and this sentence, the one made  
of spight, the other spoken of displeasure be here  
commended as men be affectioned. For my part  
as I can not accuse him for all: so will I not ex-  
cuse hym for part. And yet since I came to this  
Court I shold do him wrong if I did not cofesse  
that which as wile heade as be in this Court  
haue iudged on him, euuen those that for countrey  
& Religion were not his frendes, that is, to haue  
shewed him selfe in all these affayres betwixt the  
Emperour and him: first, humble in intreatyng,  
diligent in purslyng, witty in purposyng, secret in  
woorkyng, fearece to foresee by open warre, ready  
to parle for common peac, wise in choyle of con-  
ditions, and iust in perfromyng of couenaunts.

And I know he offendeth the Emperour be-  
yond all remedy of amedes: So would I be loth  
to see as I haue once sene, his Maiestie fall so a-  
gayne into any enemyes handes: lesse peraduen-  
ture

Duke Mau-  
rice.

ture leſſe gentlenes would be found in him then  
was found in Duke Maurice, who when he was  
most able to hurt, was most ready to hold hys  
hād and that agaynst ſuch an enemy, as he knew  
well would neuer loue him, and ſhould alwayes  
be of moſt power to reuenge. If Duke Maurice  
had had a Machiauels head or a cowardes hart, he  
would haue worne a bloudyer ſword then he did,  
which he neuer drew out in all theſe ſtrures, but  
once at y Cluce & y was to ſaue y Emperors me.

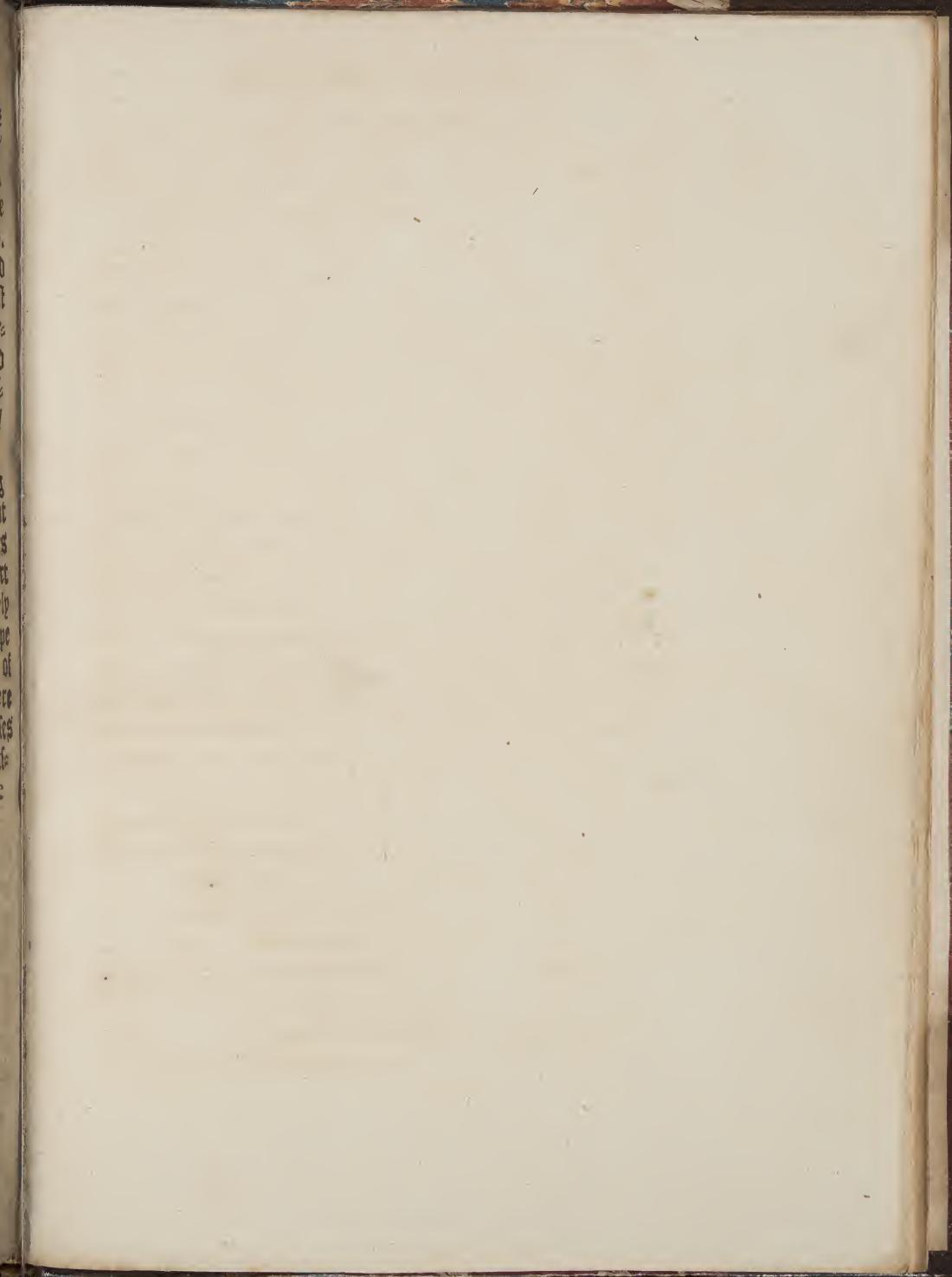
Hethereto I haue followed the order of per-  
ſons which hath cauſed me ſomewhaſt to miſor-  
der both tyme & matter, yet where diuers great  
affaires come together, a man ſhall write conſu-  
ſedly for the matter, & unpleaſantly for y reader, if  
he vſe not ſuſh an apt kinde of partitio as y ma-  
tter will beſt affourde, which thyng (Plato ſayth)  
who ca not do, knoweth not how to write. Here-  
in Herodotus deſerueth in myne opinion a great  
deale more prayſe then Thucidides, althoſh he  
wrote of a matter moſt conuſed for places, time,  
and perſons, then the other diſ.

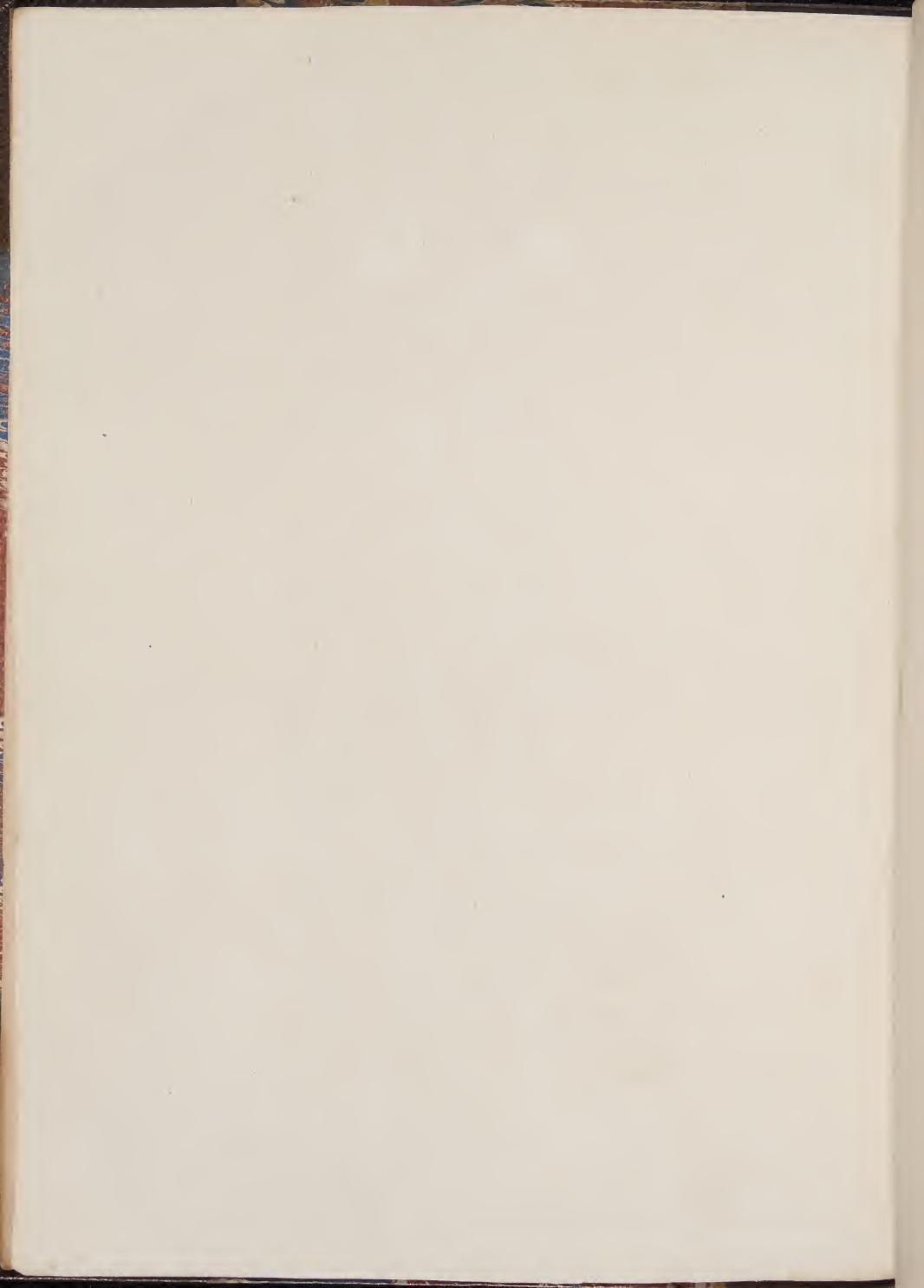
In this point alſo Appianus Alexandrinus is  
very commendable, and not by chaunce but by  
ſkil doth follow this order, declarynge in his Pro-  
logue iuſt cauſes why he ſhould do ſo. Our wi-  
ters in later tyme, both in Latin & other tounges  
commonly conuound to many matters together,  
and ſo write well of no one. But ſee maſter Astley  
I thincking to be in ſome preſent talke with you,  
after our old wont do ſeeme to forget both my  
ielfe and my purpose.

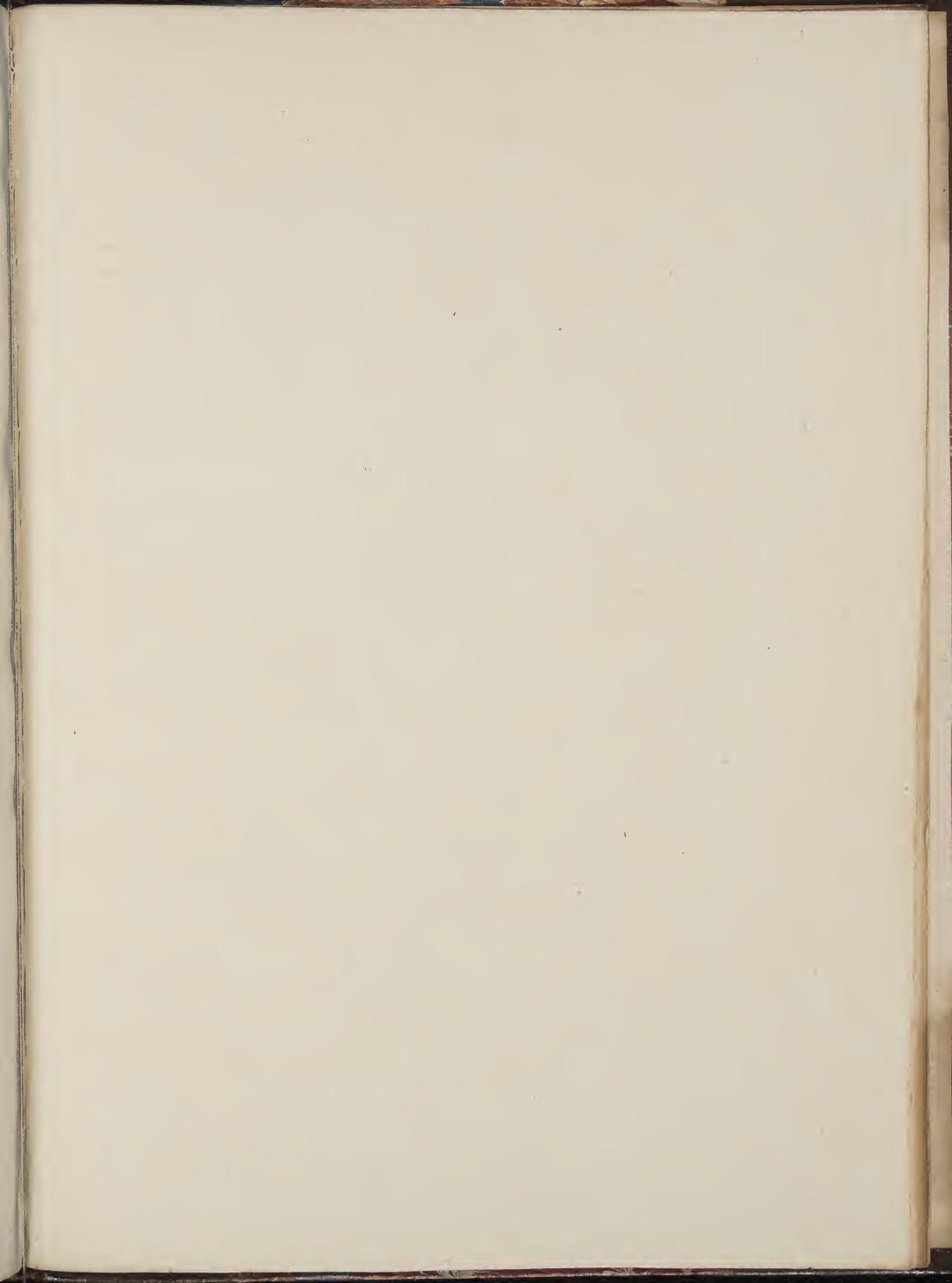
## A discours and affaires

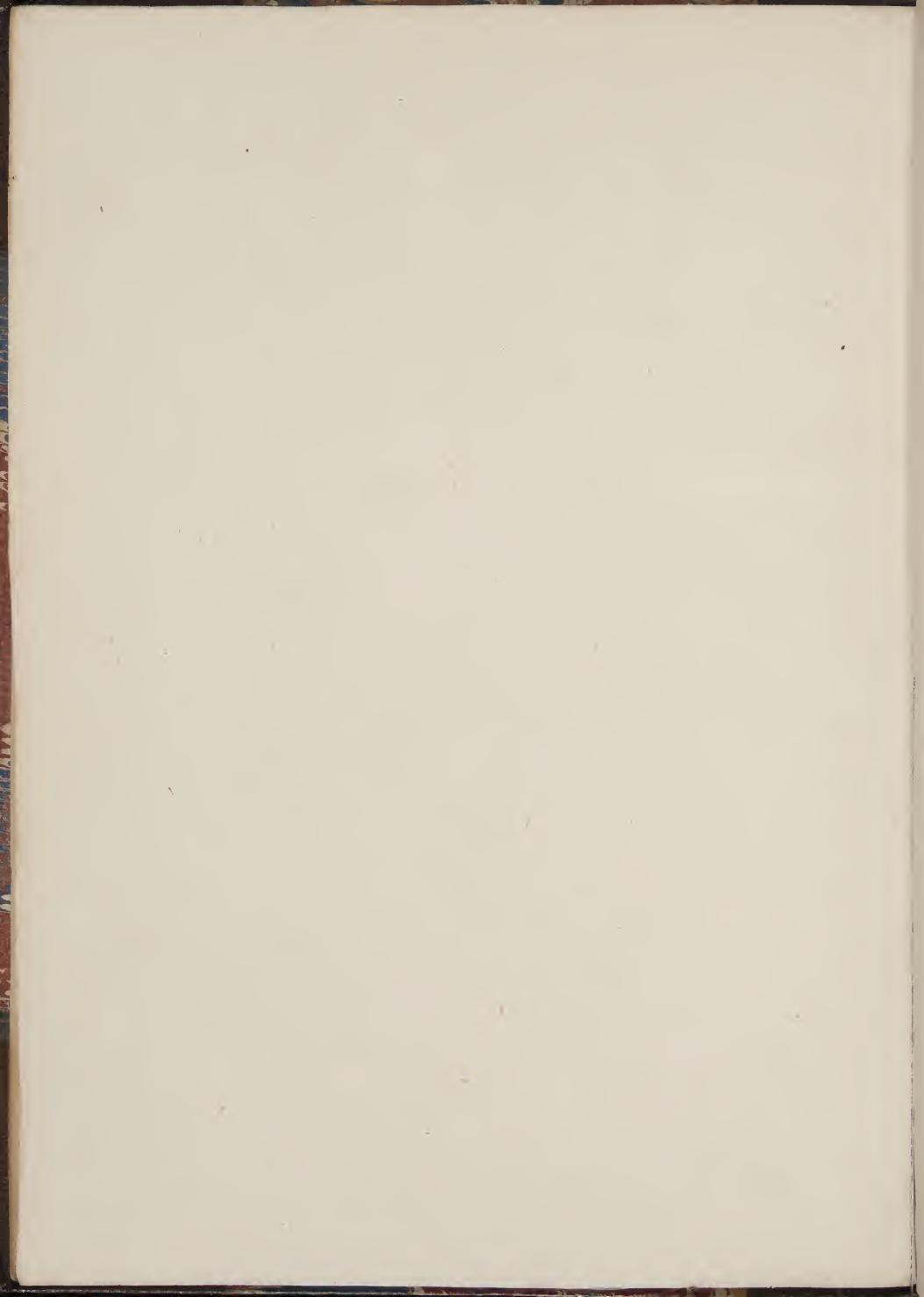
For the rest that is behind I will vse a grose & homely kind of talke with you: for I will now as it were cary you out of England with me, & will lead you the same way that I went euen to the Emperours Court beynge at Augusta. an. 1550. And I will let you see in what case it stode, and what thyngs were in doyng when we came ffirst thether. After I wil cary you and that a pace, because the chieffest matters be throughtly touched in this my former booke, through the greatest affaires of iij. yeare in this Court. But in order till we haue brought Duke Maurice ( as I promised you) to ioyne with Marches Albert in besiegyng Augusta. And the because priuy practises brast out into open sturres I might better marke thynges dayly then I could before. And so we will depart with the Emperour from Insburg, and see dayly what chaunces were wrought by feare and hope in this Court till hys Maestie left the siege of Metz, and came downe hether to Bruxels: where then all things were shut vp into secret practises till lastly of all, they brake forth into new mischiefes, betwixt the Emperour and Fraunce in Picardy, & also betwixt Duke Maurice, and the Marches in hyghe Germany which thynges I trust some other shall marke and describe a great deale better then I am hable to doe.

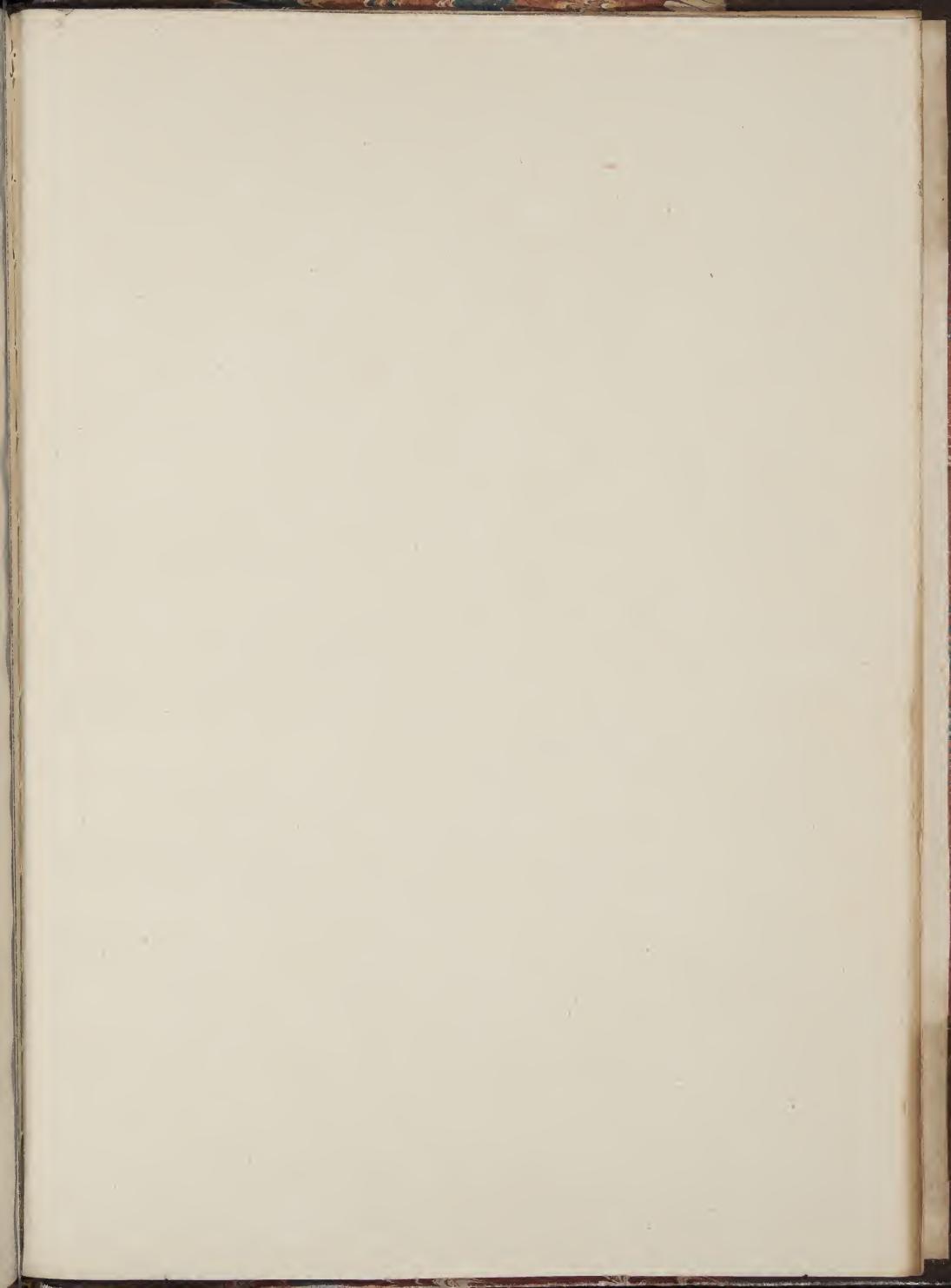
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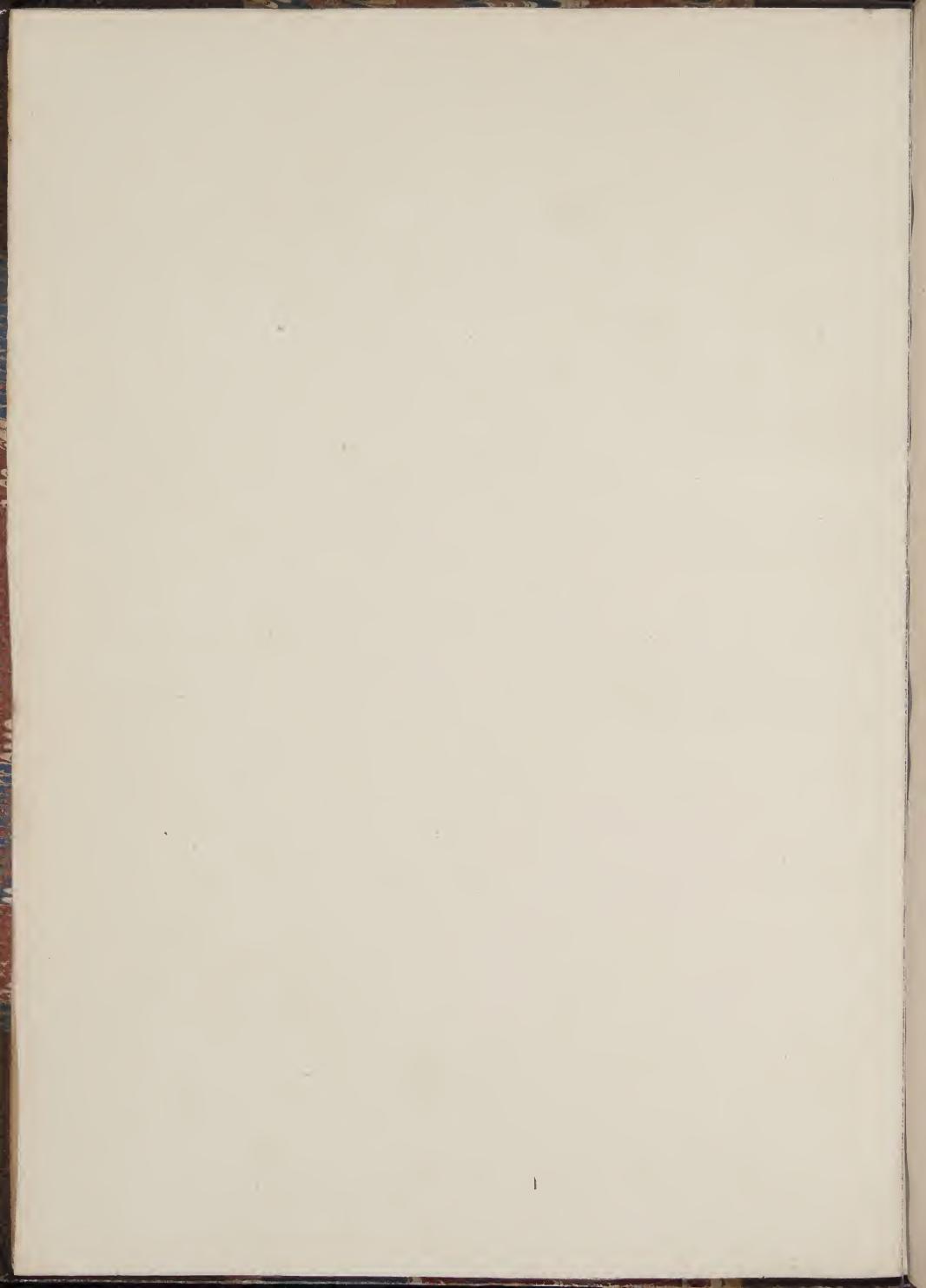


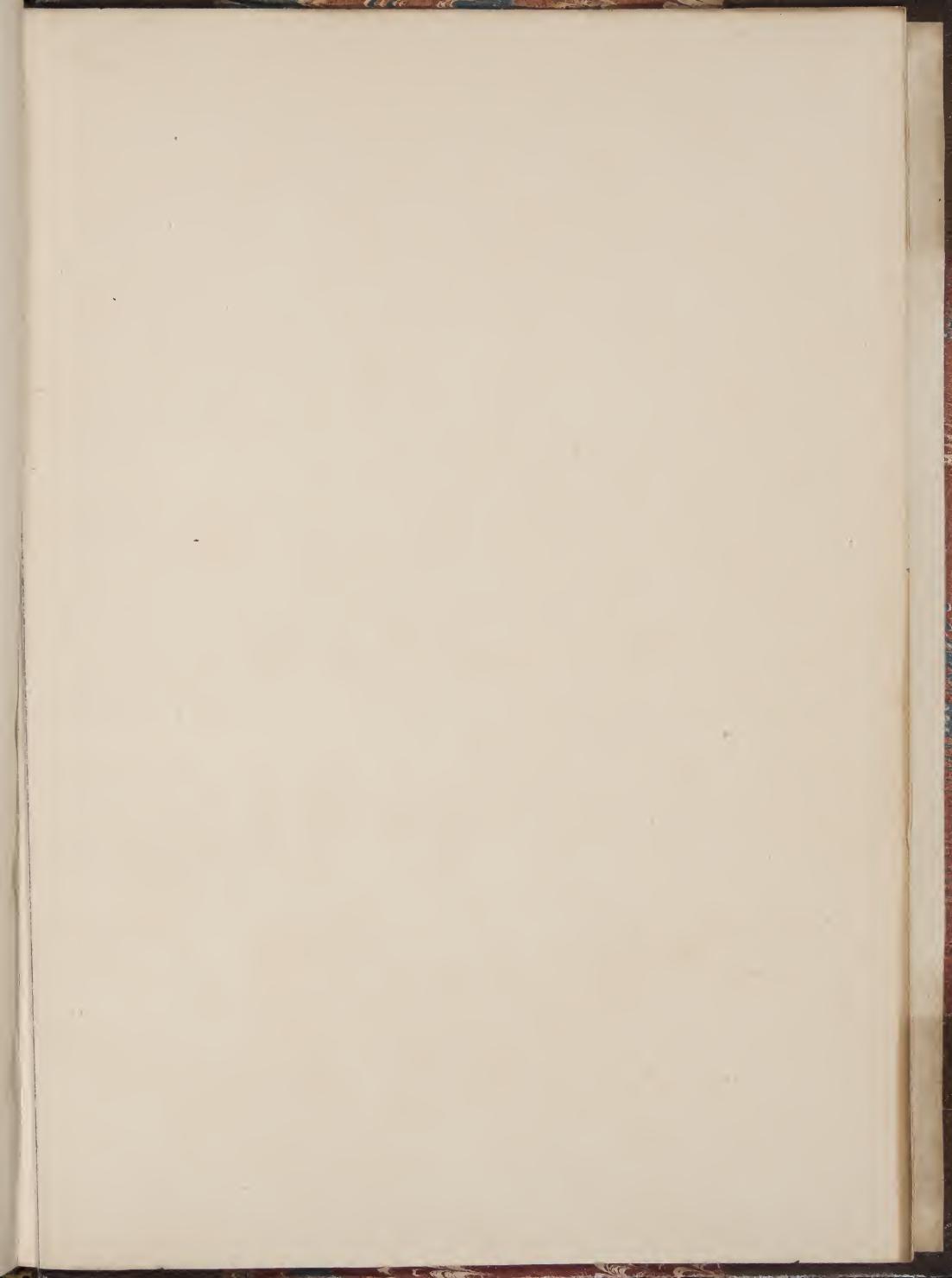


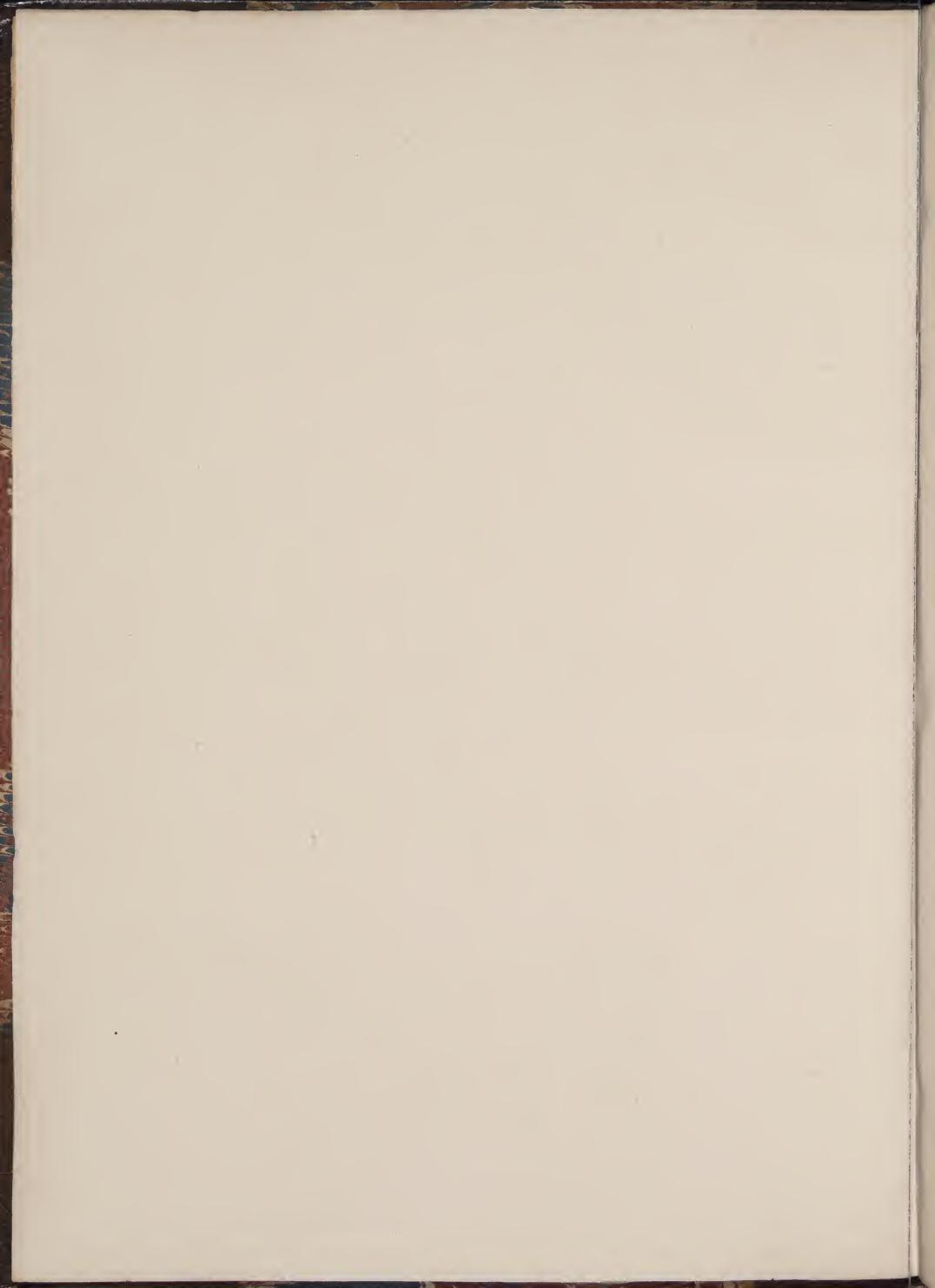


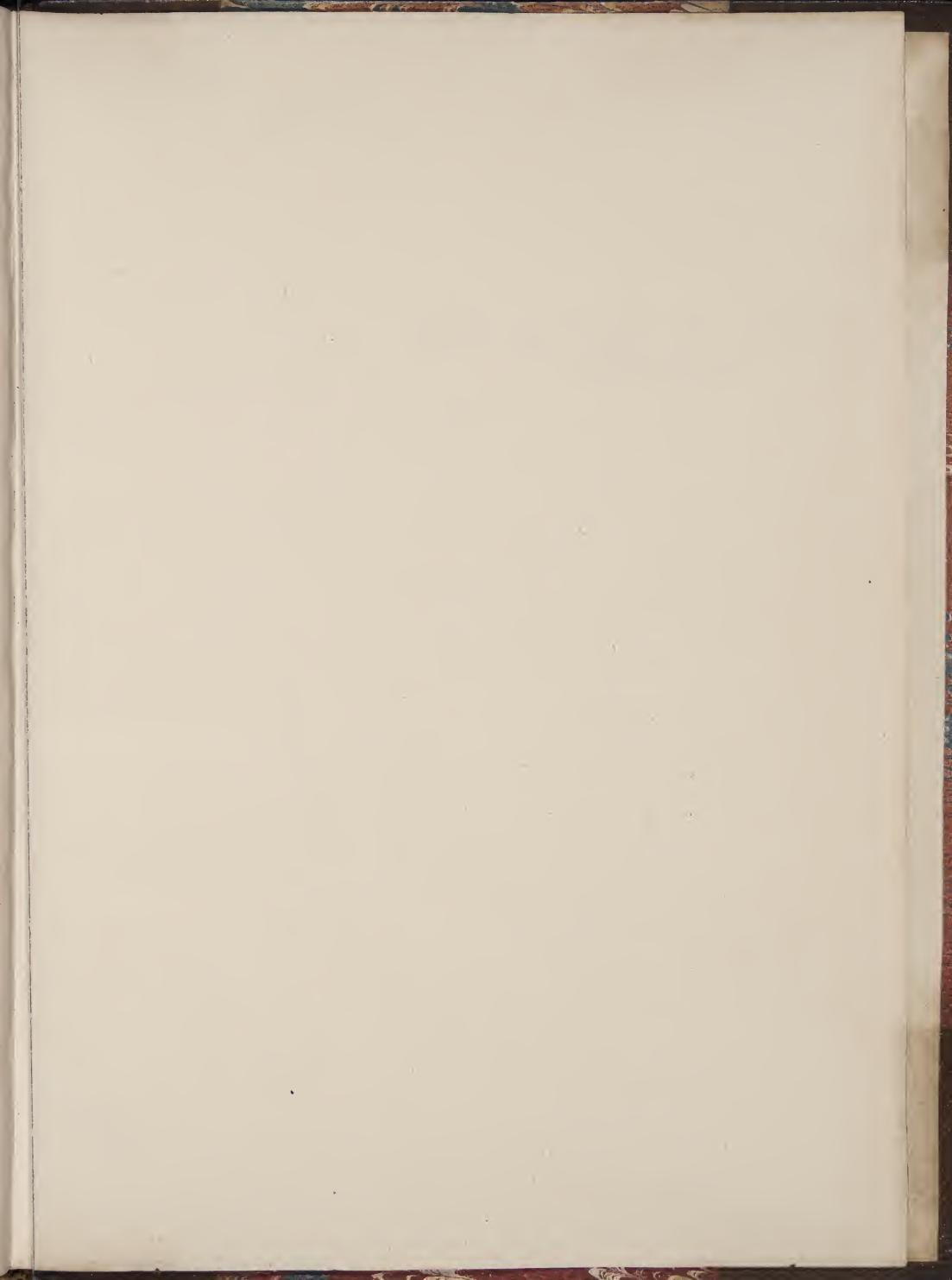












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Collated and complete (Grolier Cat. # 10)  
Karl Zamboni

